

PAMPHL
ETS







MARVELL, Andrew

Mr. SMIRKE;

OR, THE

DIVINE in MODE:

BEING

*Certain Annotations, upon the Animad-
versions on the Naked Truth.*

*Together with a Short Historical Essay,
concerning General Councils, Creeds, and Im-
positions, in Matters of Religion.*

Nuda, sed Magna est Veritas, & praevalēbit.

BY

ANDREAS RIVETUS, *Junior,*

Anagr.

RES NUDA VERITAS.

Printed Anno Domini MDC LXXVI.

MR. SMIRKE;

OR, THE

DIVINE in MODE:

BEING

Certain Annotations upon the Answer
returned on the 24th of Feb.

Together with a Short Historical Essay
concerning General Councils, Creeds, and
Positions in Matters of Religion.

And, for the sake of the
Reader, a short History of the

BY

ANDREAS RIVINGTON



RESPECTUALLY
Dedicated to

Printed Anno Domini MDC LXXV.

To the

CAPTIOUS READER.

AL that I have to require of thee is, That
wheresoever my Stile or Principles Strike
out, and keep not within the same Bounds,
that the most Judicious Author of the *Na-
ked Truth* hath all along observed; he may not there-
fore be traced. He could best have writ a Defence
proportionable to his own Subject; had he esteemed
it necessary, or that it was decent for him to have
enter'd the Pit with so Scurrilous an Animadverter.
But I thought it a piece of due Civility from one of
the *Laities*, to interesse my self for one of the Cler-
gy, who had so highly oblig'd the People of *England*.
And I will answer for mine own faults, I ask thee no
pardon. Nor therefore is either the Author, or any
other particular Person, or any Party, to be accused,
or misrepresented upon my Private Account. For
the rest, neither let any particular Man, or Order,
inlaege my meaning against themselves, further than
in Conscience they find they are guilty. Nor let the
body of Chaplains think themselves affronted. None
more

more esteems them, nor loves their Conversation better than I do. They are the succeeding hope of our Church, the Youth of our Clergy; and the Clergy are the Reserve of our Christianity. Some of them, whom I know, have indeed, and do continue daily to put very Singular Obligations upon me; but I write to a Nobler end, than to revenge my Petty Concernments.

Adieu.

The Errata's are too many to be Corrected; But p. 7. l. ult. Eighth is to be struck out.

Mr. SMIRKE,

Or the

Divine in Mode.

IT hath been the Good Nature (and Politicians will have it the Wisdom) of most Governours to entertain the people with Publick Recreations; and therefore to incourage such as could best contribute to their Divertisement. And hence doubtless it is, that our Ecclesiastical Governours also (who as they yield to none for Prudence, so in good Humor they exceed all others,) have not disdained of late years to afford the Laity no inconsiderable Pastime. Yea so great hath been their condescension that, rather then faile, they have carried on the Merriment by men of their own Faculty, who might otherwise by the gravity of their Calling, have claimed an exemption from such Offices. They have Ordained from time to time several of the most Ingenious and Pregnant of their Clergy to supply the Press continually with new Books of ridiculous and facetious argument. Wherein divers of them have succeeded even to admiration: in so much that by the reading thereof, the ancient Sobriety and Seriousness of the *English* Nation hath been in some good measure discuffed and worn out of fashion. Yet, though the Clergy have hereby manifested that nothing comes amiss to them, and particularly, that when they give their minds to it, no sort of men are more proper or capable to make sport for Spectators; it hath so happened by the rewards and Promotions bestowed upon those who have labour'd in this Province, that many others in hopes of the like Preferment, although otherwise by their Parts, their Complexion and Education unfitted for this Jocular Divinity, have in order to it wholly neglected the more weighty cares of their Function. And from hence it proceeds, that to the no small scandal and disreputation of our Church, a great *Arcanum* of their State hath been discovered and divulged: That, albeit Wit be not in-

B

consistent

consistent and incompatible with a Clergy-man, yet neither is it inseparable from them. So that it is of concernment to my Lords the Bishops henceforward to repress those of 'em who have no Wit from Writing, and to take care that even those that have, do husband it better, as not knowing to what exigency they may be reduced: But however that they the Bishops be not too forward in Licensing and perfixing their venerable Names to such Pamphlets. For admitting, though I am not too positive in it, that our Episcopacy is of Apostolical Right, yet we do not find that among all those gifts then given to men, that which we call Wit is enumerated: nor yet among those qualifications requisite to a Bishop. And therefore should they out of Complacency for an Author, or Delight in the Argument, or Facility of their Judgements approve of a dull Book, their own understandings will be answerable, and irreverent people, that cannot distinguish, will be ready to think that such of them differ from men of Wit, not only in Degree, but in Order. For all are not of my mind, who could never see any one elevated to that Dignity, but I presently conceived a greater opinion of his Wit then ever I had formerly. But some do not stick to affirm that even they, the Bishops, come by theirs not by Inspiration, not by Teaching, but even as the poor Laity do sometimes light upon it, by a good Mother. Which has occasioned the homely Scotch Proverb that, *An Ounce of Mother-Wit is worth a Pound of Clergy*. And as they come by it as do other men, so they possess it on the same condition: That they cannot transmit it by breathing, touching, or any natural *Effluvium* to other persons: not so much as to their most Domestick Chaplain, or to the closest Residentiary. That the King himself, who is no less the Spring of That, then he is the Fountain of Honour, yet has never used the Dubbing or Creating of Wits as a Flower of his Prerogative: much less can the Ecclesiastical Power conferre it with the same ease as they do the Holy Orders. That whatsoever they can do of that kind is, at uttermost, to empower men by their authority and commission, no otherwise then in the Licensing of Midwives or Physitians. But that as to their collating of any internal talent or ability, they could never pretend at it; their grants and their prohibitions are alike invalide, and they can neither capacitate one man to be Witty, nor hinder another from being so, further then as the Press is at their Devotion. Which if it be the Case, they cannot be too circumspect in their management, and should be very exquisite, seeing this way of writing is found so necessary, in making choice of fit Instruments. The Churches credit is more interess'd in an Ecclesiastical Droll, then in a Lay Chancellor. It is no small trust that is reposed in him to whom the

Bishop

Bishop shall commit: *Omne & omnimodum suum Ingenium tam Temporale quam Spirituale*: And, however it goes with Excommunication, they should take good heed to what manner of person they delegate the Keys of Laughter. It is not every man that is qualified to sustain the Dignity of the Churches Jester: and, should they take as exact a scrutiny of them as of the Non-conformists thorow their Dioresses, the number would appear inconsiderable upon this Easter Visitation. Before men be admitted to so important an employment, it were fit they underwent a severe Examination; and that it might appear, first, whether they have any Sense: for without that how can any man pretend, and yet they do, to be ingenious? Then, whether they have any Modesty: for without that they can only be scurrilous and impudent. Next, whether any Truth: for true jests are those that do the greatest execution. And Lastly, it were not amiss that they gave some account too of their Christianity: for the world has always hitherto been so uncivil as to expect something of that from the Clergy; in the design and stile even of their lightest and most uncanonical Writings. And though I am no rigid Imposer of a Discipline of mine own devising, yet had any thing of this nature entered into the minds of other men, it is not impossible that a late Pamphlet, published by Authority and proclaimed by the Gazette, *Animadversions upon a late Pamphlet, entitled the Naked Truth, or, the true State of the Primitive Church*, might have been spared.

That Book so called *The Naked Truth*, is a Treatise, that, were it not for this its Opposer, needs no commendation: being writ with that Evidence and Demonstration of Spirit, that all sober men cannot but give their Assent and Consent to it, unasked. It is a Book of that kind, that no Christian scarce can peruse it without wishing himself had been the Author, and almost imagining that he is so: the Conceptions therein being of so Eternal an Idea, that every man finds it to be but the Copy of an Original in his own Mind, and though he never read it till now, wonders it could be so long before he remembred it. Neither, although there be a time when as they say all truths are not to be spoken, could there ever have come forth any thing more seasonable. When the sickly Nation had been so long indisposed and knew not the Remedy, but (having Taken so many things, that rather did it harm then good,) only longed for some Moderation, and as soon as it had tasted this, seemed to it self sensibly to recover. When their Representatives in Parliament had been of late so frequent in consultations of this nature, and they the Physicians of the Nation, were ready to have received any wholesome advice for the Cure of our Malady: It appears moreover plainly that the Author is Judicious, Learned, Conscientious, a sincere Protestant, and

a true Son, if not a Father, of the Church of *England*. For the rest, the Book cannot be free from the imperfections incident to all humane indeavours, but those so small, and guarded every where with so much Modesty, that it seems there was none left for the Animadverter, who might otherwise have blush'd to reproach him. But some there were that thought Holy Church was concerned in it, and that no true born Son of our Mother of *England* but ought to have it in detestation. Not only the Churches but the Coffee-Houses rung against it, they itinerated like Excise-spyes from one house to another, and some of the Morning and Evening Chaplains burnt their lips with perpetual discouraging it out of reputation, and loading the Author, whoever he were, with all contempt, malice and obloquy. Nor could this suffice them, but a lasting Pillar of Infamy must be erected to eternize his Crime and his Punishment. There must be an answer to him, in Print, and that not according to the ordinary rules of civility, or in the sober way of arguing Controversie, but with the utmost extremity of Jeere, Disdain, and Indignation: and happy the man whose lot it should be to be deputed to that performance. It was Shrove-Tuesday with them, and, not having yet forgot their Boyes-play, they had set up this Cock, and would have been content some of them to have ventur'd their Coffee-Farthings, yea their Easter-Pence by advance, to have a sling at him. But there was this close youth who treads alwayes upon the heels of Ecclesiastical Preferment, but hath come nearer the heels of the *Naked Truth* than were for his service, that rather by favour than any tolerable sufficiency carried away this employment, as he hath done many others from them. So that being the man pitched upon, he took up an unfortunate resolution that he would be Witty. Infortunate I say, and no less Criminal: for I dare aver that never any person was more manifestly guilty of the sin against Nature. But however to write a Book of that virulence, and at such a season was very improper: even in the Holy time of Lent when, whether upon the Sacred account, it behoved him rather to have subjugated and mortified the swelling of his passions; or whether upon the Political reason, he might well have forborn his young Wit, as but newly Pigg'd or Calv'd, in order to the growth of the yearly summer provisions. Yet to work he fell, not omitting first to fum himself up in the whole wardrobe of his Function; as well because his Wit consisting wholly in his Dresse, he would (and 'twas his concernment to) have it all about him: as to the end that being huff'd up in all his Ecclesiastical fluster, he might appear more formidable, and in the pride of his Heart and Habit out-boniface an *Humble Moderator*. So that there was more to do in equipping of Mr. *Smirke* than there is about *Doriman*, and the *Divine in Mode* might have vyed

vyed with Sir *Fopling Flutter*. The Vestry and the Tiring-Room were both exhausted, and 'tis hard to say whether there went more attendants toward the Composing of Himself, or of his Pamphlet. Being thus drest up, at last forth he comes in Print. No Poet either the First or the Third day could be more concern'd, and his little Party, like men hired for the purpose, had posted themselves at every corner to feigne a more numerous applause : but clap'd out of time, and disturb'd the whole Company.

Annotations upon his Animadversions on the Title, Dedication, &c.

A T first bolt in his *Animadversions on the Title, the Dedication, and the Epistle to the Reader*, he denounces sentence before inquiry but against the Book it self, forgetting already his subject, so early his brain circulates; and saith, that, *Having perused the Book thorowly he is abundantly satisfied not only from his Stile, which is something Enthusiastick* (his speech bewrays him) *but from his matter and Principles if he stick to any, that the Author is a borderer upon Fanaticisme and does not know it.* Even as the Animadverter is upon Wit and Reason; for I have heard that Borderers for the most part, are at the greatest distance, and the most irreconcilable. What the *Stile* is of a *Title*, and what the *Principles* of a *Dedication and Epistle* to the Reader (for these, if any, the Animadverter ought here to have stuck to) it's indeed a weighty disquisition fit for a man of his Talent. But I have read them over, and so have others of better judgement, and find every sentence therein poised with so much reverence, humility, and judicious Piety, that from an humane pen (allowing the Reader any tolerable share too of Humanity) I know not what more could have been expected. And as to the Matter, it seems to be but a Paraphrase upon the *Principles* of the Song of the Angels; *Glory to God on high, on Earth Peace, Good Will toward men.* If to speak at that rate, and upon such a subject, with so good an intention, be to have an Enthusiastick *Stile* or *Fanatical Principles*, it is the first crime of which I should be glad to be guilty. What in the mean time shall we say to these men, who out of a perverse jealousy they have of the Non-conformists, run, which few wise men do into the contrary extreme, affixing such odious names to every word or thing that is sober and serious, that with their good will they would render it impracticable for men even to discourse pertinently concerning Religion or Christianity? Put it upon this short issue: If the *Stile* of the Epistle before the *Naked Truth* be Enthusiastick and Fanatical, the *Stile* of the Animadverter is presumed, and so allowed of, as Spiritual, Divine, and Canonical. The

The first Evidence that he produces, after so hasty a Sentence against the Author, is out of the Book too, not out of the Title, Dedication, or Epistle; that he has said p. 17. *In the Primitive times when the whole world of Jews and Gentiles were enemies to the Church and not one of your Ceremonies to preserve it, the simple Naked Truth without any Surplice to cover it, without any Ecclesiastical Policy to maintaine it, overcame all, and so it would do now did we trust to it, and the Defender of it.* And upon this he runs division *The Defender in Heaven, God; the Defender of the Faith His Majesty; and the many Defenders (among whom I suppose he reckons himself of the Principal) who may be trusted,* This is all fooling, whereas the Author does manifestly intend it of God Almighty, and could not otherwise. For though His Majesty may well be trusted for his Reign with the Defence of the *Naked Truth*; yet most of us know that in the Primitive Times, His Majesty was too young for that imployment, and that it was God alone who could then protect it, when the *Defenders of the Faith* were all Heathens, and most of them Persecutors of Christianity. He then descants no less upon *Naked Truth*; *The Naked Truth of our Cause, or the Naked Truth of the Pamphlet*, or, *he knows not what Naked Truth.* But he saith it should have been *Truth Fle'd* (so he had the Butchery of it) Which is like Pilate and no worse man, who when our Saviour told him, he came into the world *John 18. 37. That he might bear witness to the Truth*, asked him, *What is Truth?* and then though he confessed *he found no evil in this man*, delivered him over, against his Conscience, to be Stripped, Scourged, Fley'd, and afterwards Crucified. Such like also is his talking, that *this is Stripping the Church to skinne, nay skinne and all, and skinne for skinne*: so wretchedly does he hunt over hedge and ditch for an University Quibble. The casual progress and leaping consequences of any mans memory are more rational then this method of his understanding, and the Non-Conformists Concordance is a Discourse of more coherence then such Animadversions: I have heard a mad man having got a word by the end ramble after the same manner: in this only he is true to himself, and can did to the Author, having avowed that *he had scann'd the Book thorow*, this hacking and vain repetition being just like it, when we were at our

Montibus inquit erant & erant, sub montibus illis:

Risit Atlantiades, & me mihi perfide prodis,

Me mihi prodis, ait.

For as I remember this Scanning was a liberal Art that we learn'd at Grammar-School; and to Scann Verses as he does the Authors Prose, before we did, or were obliged to understand them. But his tugging all this while at *skin, and skin for skin, and all that he has* be

he will give for his life, merely to hale in an ill favor'd Jeer at the Author, and truly with some profaneness, for proposing the *Naked Truth* as necessary for the *self preservation of our Church*, and an *expedient against Popery*; is, (whatsoever the Animadverters judgement be) a retchlesness and mockery ill becoming his Character. And it favors of the Liquorishness of a Trencher-Chaplain, little concerned in the *Curâ Animarum*, so he may but *Curare Cuticulam*.

But as to his fastidious reproach of the Authors *seeking of God, his Fasts and his Prayers*, the Animadverter is more excusable, having doubtless writ his Pamphlet without practising any of these Fanatical Superstitions, as neither was it requisite; But if he had, 'twas such an answer to his Prayers as never before came from Heaven. The Animadverter is proof against all such Exorcismes, and although our Saviour prescribed these remedies against the most obstinate Devils, this man it seems is possessed with a superiour spirit which is not to be cast out, no not by Prayer and Fasting, but sets them at defiance.

Nor had the Animadverter, when he considered himself, less reason to blame the Author for deliberating so long before he published his Book, and for doing it then with so much Modesty. These are Crimes of which the Animadverter will never be suspected or accused by any man, at least they will do him very much wrong, but however it will be impossible ever to convict him of them. But to word it too so superciliously! *This has been the Travel of his mind, since he had these thoughts, which he has been humbly conceiving these two years; time enough for an Elephant to bring forth it.* Why there is, 'tis true, a winged sort of Elephant, hath a peculiar Trunk too like the other, is not so docile and good-natured; but impudent flying in every mans face, and sanguinary thirsting alwayes after blood, and as if it were some considerable Wild-Beast, makes a terrible Buzze; but in conclusion 'tis a pitiful, giddy, blind, troublesome Insect, ingendered in a nights time in every Marish, can but run a Pore thorow and give a skinne-wound, and the least touch of a mans finger will crush it. In the *Naked Truth* it is but a Gnat: and such is the Animadverter compared with the Author.

But in this next Paragraph the Animadverter seems to have out-shot himself, that not content with having passed his own Ecclesiastical Censure upon the Author, he forges too in his mind a sentence of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament: who, *he believes* and *'tis probable*, would have doom'd the Book to be burnt by the Hang-man. In this he hath meddled beyond his last: but it is some mens property: yet neither is it so likely they would have done it, at the same time when they were about passing an Act for the easing all Protestant dissenters from Penalties; had he vouch'd for the Convocation,

cation, his Belief, or his probability might have been of more value.

But what has he to do, (yet they have a singular itch to it) with Parliament business : or how can so thin a scull comprehend or divine the results of the Wisdom of the Nation ? Unless he can, as in the Epilogue.

Legion his name, a People in a Man,

And, instead of Sir Fopling Flutter, he Mr. Smirke.

Be Knight oth^r-Shire and represent them all.

Who knows indeed but he may, by some new and extraordinary Writ, have been summon'd upon the Emergency of this Book, to Represent in his peculiar person the whole Representative ? Yet by his leave, though he be so, he ought not to Undertake before he be Assembled. I know indeed he may have had some late Precedents for it, and for some years continuance, from men too of his own Profession : And if therefore he should Undertake, and to give a good Tax for it, Yet what security can he have himself, but that there may rise such a Contest between the Lords and Commons within him, that, before they can agree about this Judicial Proceeding against the Book, it may be thought fit to Prorogue him.

The Crimes indeed are hainous, and if the Man and Book be guilty, may when time comes, furnish special matter for an Impeachment. That he has made a breach upon their Glorious Act of Uniformity, Violated their Act, their most necessary Act (the Animadverter hath reason by this time to say so) against Printing without a License : and I suppose he reserves another for aggravation in due time, the Act against seditious Conventicles. For these three are all of a piece, and yet are the several Pieces of the Animadverters Armour : and are indeed no less, nor no more then necessary : For considering how empty of late the Church Magazines have been of that Spiritual Armour, which the Apostle found sufficient against the assaults of whatsoever enemy, even of Satan ; what could men in all humane reason do less, then to furnish such of the Clergy as wanted, with these Weapons of another Warfare ? But, although these Acts were the true effects of the Prudence and Piety of that season, yet it is possible (but who can provide for all cases ?) that, if there have not already, there may arise thereby in a short time some notable inconvenience. For suppose that Truth should one day or other come to be Truth and every man a Lier, (I mean of the humor of this *Parliamentum Indoctum*, this single Representative, this Animadverter) you see there is no more to be said, as the Case stands at present, but Executioner do your Office. Nor therefore can it ever enter into my mind, as to that Act particularly of Printing, that the Law-givers could thereby intend to allow any man a promiscuous Licentiousness, and Monopoly of Printing Pernicious Discourses, tending

tending to sow and increase dissension thorow the Land (of which there is but too large a crop already;) as neither of Prohibiting Books dictated by Christian meekness and charity for the promoting of Truth and Peace among us, and reconciling our Differences; no nor even of such as are writ to take out the Blots of Printing-Inke, and wipe off the Aspersions which divers of the Licensed Clergy cast upon mens private Reputations: and yet this is the use to which the Law is sometimes applyed. And this Animadverter, who could never have any rational confidence or pretence to the Press or Print, but by an unlucky *English* saying men have, or by the Text-Letters of his *Imprimatur*, arraignes this worthy Author for Printing without Allowance, as if it were a sin against the Eleventh Commandment. Though a *Samaritan* perhaps may not practise Physick without a Licence, yet must a Priest and a Levite *always pass by on the other side* and if one of them, in an Age; *pour Oyle and Wine into the Wounds* of our Church (instead of Tearing them Wider,) must he be Cited for it into the Spiritual Court and incur all Penalties? This high Charge made me the more curious to inquire particularly how that Book *The Naked Truth* was published, which the Animadverter himself pretends to have got a fight of with some difficulty. And I am credibly informed that the Author caused four hundred of them and no more to be Printed against the last Session but one of Parliament. For nothing is more usual then to Print and present to them Proposals of Revenue, Matters of Trade, or any thing of Publick Convenience; and sometimes Cases and Petitions, and this, which the Animadverter calls the Authors Dedication, is his *humble Petition to the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament*: And understanding the Parliament inclined to a Temper in Religion, he prepar'd these for the Speakers of both Houses and as many of the Members as those could furnish. But that, the Parliament rising just as the Book was delivering out and before it could be presented, the Author gave speedy order to suppress it till another Session. Some covetous Printer in the mean time getting a Copy, surreptitiously Reprinted it, and so it flew abroad without the Authors knowledge, and against his direction. So that it was not his, but the Printers fault to have put so great an obligation upon the publick. Yet because the Author has in his own Copyes, out of his unspeakable Tenderness and Modesty begg'd pardon of the Lords and Commons, in his Petition, for transgressing their Act against Printing without a Licence, this *Indoctum Parliamentum* mistaking the Petition as address'd to himself, will not grant it, but insults over the Author and upbraids him the rather as a desperate offender, *that sins on he saith,* goes on still in his wickedness; and hath done it *against his own Conscience*. Now truly if this were a sin, it was a sin of the first Impression.

And the Author appears so constant to the Church of England, and to its Liturgy in particular, that, having confessed four hundred times with *an humble, lowly, penitent, and obedient heart*, I doubt not but in assisting at Divine Service he hath frequently since that received Absolution. It is something strange that to publish a good Book is a sin, and an ill one a vertue; and that while one comes out with Authority; the other may not have a Dispensation. So that we seem to have got an Expurgatory Press, though not an Index, and the most Religious Truth must be expung'd and suppressed in order to the false and secular interest of some of the Clergy. So much wiser are they grown by process of time than the Obsolete Apostle that said, *We can do nothing against the Truth*. But this hath been of late years the practice of these single Representers of the Church of England, to render those Peccadilloes against God as few and inconsiderable as may be, but to make the sins against themselves as many as possible, and these to be all heinous and unpardonable. In so much that if we of the Laity would but study our Self-Preservation, and learn of them to be as true to our separate interest as these men are to theirs, we ought not to wish them any new Power for the future, but after very mature deliberation. Forasmuch as every such Act does but serve, as some of them use it, to make the good people of England walk in peril of their Souls, to multiply sin and abomination thorow the Land, and by engaging mens minds under spiritual Bondage, to lead them Canonically on into Temporal slavery. Whereas the Laity are commonly, more temperate and merciful (I might say more discreet) in the exercising of any Authority they are intrusted with, and what Power they have, they will not wear it thred bare: so that if I were to commit a fault for my life, (as suppose by Printing this without a License) I would chuse to sin against good Mr. Oldenburg.

But this Animadverter is the genuine example of Ecclesiastical Clemency, who proceeding on cannot bear that the Author should use the Title of an *Humble Moderator* (he thinks him self guilty herein *Lese Majestatis Ecclesiasticae*, and that both these Qualities are incompatible with one of their Coat, and below the Dignity of any man of the Faculty) much less will he indure him when he comes, in the following discourse, to justify his Claime to that Title, by *letting his Moderation according to the Apostles precept, be known to all men, for the Lord is at hand*. But he saith that the Author *Assumes, Imposes, and Turns all upside down*; and witnesses an *Immoderate Zeal* for one (that is the Non-Conformists) Party: then which the Animadverter could never have invented a more notorious, studied, and deliberate Falshood, to preposse and mislead the gentle Reader: Wherein does he *Assume*? He speaks like a Man, a Creature to which Modesty and Reason are peculiar;

liar; not like an Animadverter, that is an Animal which hath nothing Humane in it but a Malicious Grinne, that may Provoke indeed, but cannot Imitate so much as Laughter. Wherein does he *Impose*? In nothing but by declaring his Opinion against all unreasonable Imposition? And though it appears natural to him to speak with Gravity, yet he usurps not any Authority further, then as any man who speaks a Truth which he thorowly understands, cannot with all his Modesty and Humility hinder others from paying a due Reverence to his Person and acquiescing in his Doctrine. But wherein does he *Turn all upside down*? This hath been a common Topick of Ecclesiastical Accusation. Our Saviour was accused that he would Destroy the Temple. The first Martyr *Stephen* was stoned as a Complice. And Saint *Paul* (as ill luck would have it) was made odious upon the same Cimination of the Animadverters, Acts 17. v. 5, 6. For, *certain Lewd-fellows of the baser sort, set all the City in an uproar, crying those that have turned the world Up-side-down are come hither also.* And yet notwithstanding all these Calumnies, *The Naked Truth*, Christianity, hath made a shift, God berhanked, to continue till this day: and there will never want those that bear testimony to it, even to the Primitive Christianity, maugre all the arts that the men of Religion can contrive to misrepresent and discountenance it. But as for the *Turning all up-side-down*, the Animadverter is somewhat innocent, if by the defect of his Organt, as it fares with those whose Brain turnes round, (So we vulgarly expresse it) he have imagined that the world is tumbling headlong with him. But as to the Prejudice, which he therefore reserved as the most effectual and taking to undoe the Author by, that he is *Immoderately Zealous for the Non-Conformists*; it is the effect of as strong a Phancy, or as Malicious an Intention as the Former; it being scarce possible to open the Book in any place without chancing upon some passage where he makes a firm Profession, or gives a clear proof of his real submission and Addition to the Church of England: all his fault for ought I see being, that he is more Truly and Cordially concerned for our Church then some mens Ignorance is capable of, or their corrupt interest can comply with. But therefore whoever were the adviser it is not well done to use him in this dirty manner. There is no prudence in it, nor whereas the Author, in excuse that he sets not his name, saith it is, *because he is a man of great Passions, and not able to bear a Reproach* (The Animadverter had done fairer to cite the whole, or *Commentations: my small Ability puts me out of danger of the last, but in great fear of the former.*) Therefore to resolve thus (whereas they might have undone him you see by Commendation) the rather to Reproach him, now they have learn't his Feebene's Holy Church, I can tell you hath suffered upon that account so often that it were time for her to be wiser. For by exasperating

men of Parts, who out of an ingenious love of Truth have temperately Writ against some abuses, She hath added Provocation to mens Wit to look still further; insomuch that at last it hath sometimes produced (then which nothing can be more dangerous to the Church) a Reformation. Therefore, though Christ hath commanded his Followers (so it be not I suppose out of his Way) that if any man press them to go one mile, they should go two; yet it is not wisdom in the Church to pretend to, or however to exercise, that Power of *Angariating* men further then their occasions or understandings will permit. If a man cannot go their Length 'tis better to have his company in quiet as far as his Road lyes. For my part I take the Church of *England* to be very happy in having a Person of his Learning and Piety so far to comply with Her; and, if my advice might be taken, She should not lose one inch more of him by handling him irreverently. For if once She should totally lose him, God knows what an Instrument he might prove, and how much good he might do in the Nation, more then he ever yet thought of. What a shame it is to hear the Animadverter abuse him (who by the very Character of his Stile appears no Vulgar Person, and by how much he hath more of Truth, hath more of Gods Image, and should therefore have imprinted that Awe upon him that Man hath over most Brutes:) he to trifle with so worthy a person at that rate, that one would not use the meanest Varlet, the dullest School-boy, the rankest Idiot, no nor the veryest Animadverter! However he saith, *the Author hath done himself and him the Animadverter a great favour, by concealing his Name, in making it impossible for him to reflect upon his Person (otherwise it seems he should have had it home) which he knows no more then the Man in the Moon.* But therefore I am the rather jealous he did know him: for the Animadverter having a Team of *Guards* alwayes a his devotion, and being able if any one tired by the way to relieve it and draw in person, never think that he would want intelligence in that Region. Come 'twas all but an affected ignorance in the Animadverter, and he had both inquired and heard as much as any of us who was the probable Author: and all the Guard that he Lyes upon is, because the Author had not given him legal notice that he Writ it. And this was even as the Animadverter would have wished it. For if a Reverend Person had openly avowed it, he could not have been sawcy with so good a Grace: But under the pretence of *not knowing*, Sir, that it was you, but only, Sir, *as you were the Patron of so vile a Cause*, many a dry bob, close gird, and privy nip has he given him. Yet he saith, *the Author would have done well, and a piece of Justice to have named himself, so to have cleared others: for it hath been confidently layed to the charge of more then one Reverend Person (how silly!) who (I have great reason to believe, and am several ways assured) had no hand in it.* Truly the Animad-
 verter

Jan 23

verter too would have done a piece of Justice to have named himself; for there has been more then one Witty person traduced for his Pamphlet, and I believe by this time he would take it for a great favour if any man would be such a Fool as own it for him. For he very securely reproaches the Author, and yet I have been seeking all over for the Animadverters name, and cannot find it. Notwithstanding that he writes forsooth in defence of the Church of England; and against so vile a Cause, as he styles it, and under the Publick Patronage. Which is most disingenuously done, as on other accounts, so in respect of my Lord Bishop of London, whom he has left in the lurch to justify another mans Follies with his Authority. But however that venerable Person, who has for Learning, Candor, and Piety, as he does for Dignity also, outstripp'd his Age and his Fellows, have been drawn in to License what certainly he cannot approve of, it was but his First Fruits, and a piece of early liberality, as is usual, upon his new Promotion, and I am given to understand that, for the Animadverters sake, it is like to be the last that he will allow of that nature. But this is not only a Trick of the Animadverters, but ordinary with many others of them; who while we write at our own peril, and perhaps set our names to it, (for I am not yet resolved whether I can bear Reproach or Commendation) they that raile for the Church of England, and under the Publick License and Protection, yet leave men, as if it were a Hot-Cockles, to guesse blind-fold who it is that hit them. But it is possible that some of these too may lie down in their turnes. What should be the reason of it? sure theirs is not so Vile a Cause too that they dare not abide by it. Or are they the Writers conscious to themselves that they are such Things as ought not once to be Named among Christians? Or is it their own sorry performance that makes them ashamed to avow their own Books? Or is there some secret force upon them that obliges them to say things against their Conscience? Or would they reserve a Latitude to themselves to turn Non-Conformists again upon occasion? Or do they in pure honesty abstaine from putting a single Name to a Book, which hath been the workmanship of the whole Diocess?

But though he know not his Name, seeing he has vented his own Amusements to the Churches great and real prejudice he saith, (and that is this Case) he must not think to scape for the Godliness of his Stile: Impious and most unmerciful! Poor David was often in this Case. Psal. 22. They gaped upon him with their Mouth. He trusted, said they, in the Lord that he would deliver him, let him deliver him seeing he delighted in him. And Psal. 71. 11. Persecute and take him, there is none to deliver him. And yet there are many places too in Scripture, where God spared men even for their outward Formalities, and their Hypocrisie served to delay his Judgements; and should he not still do so, the Church might receive

receive greater prejudice. But the Church, and God are two things, and are not it seems obliged to the same Measures: Inſe much that even the ſincerity of one Perſon, which might perhaps atone for a whole Order and render them acceptable both to God and Man, yet cannot hope for his own pardon.

Neither muſt he think to ſcape for a Man of good Intentions : yet ſure he is, elſe would not give the Devil ſo much more then his due, ſaying he would never condemne any good action though done by the Devil, As if ſaith the Animadverſer, he ſuppoſed the Devil might do ſome ſuch. Here he thinks he has a ſhrewd hit, at him, and this if a man had leiſure might beget a Metaphyſical Controverſy : but I deſire him rather to comment on that Text : *Doeſt thou Believe ? thou doeſt well, the Devils alſo Believe and Tremble.* Whereas he goeth on to mock at the Authors *Good Intentions*, and tells him pleaſantly that, *Hell it ſelf is full of ſuch as were once full of Good Intentions*: 'tis a Concluding piece of Wit, and therefore, as well as for the Rarity, ſhould be civilly treated and incouraged ; ſo that I ſhall uſe no further retortion there, that if this be the qualification of ſuch as go to Hell, the Animadverſer hath ſecured himſelf from coming there and ſo many more as were his Partners. And thus much I have ſaid upon his *Animadverſions on the Title*, &c. Wherein, he having miſrepreſented the Author and prejudicated the Reader againſt him by all diſingenuous methods, and open'd the whole Pedlers-pack of his malice, which he half-p— worths out in the following diſcourſe to his petty Chapmen, I could not properly ſay leſs, though it exceeds perhaps the number of his Pages. For it is ſcarce credible how voluminous and pithy he is in extravagance : and one of his ſides in *Quarto*, for Falſhood, Inſolence, and Abſurdity contains a Book in *Folio*. Beſides, the Reader may pleaſe to conſider how much labour it coſts to Bray even a Little Thing in a Mortar: and that Calumny is like *London-dirt*, with which, though a man may be ſpatter'd in an inſtant, yet it requires much time, pains, and Full ſ-cath to ſcoure it out again.

Annotations upon the Animadverſions on the firſt Chapter, concerning Articles of Faith.

THe Play begins. *I Confeſs* (Do ſo then and make no more words) when firſt I ſaw this Jewel of a Pamphlet, and had run over two or three pages of this Chapter, I ſuſpected the Author for ſome Youngſter that had been Dabbling amongſt the Socinian Writers, and was ambitious of ſhewing

showing us his Talent in their way. I was quickly delivered from this Jealousy, by his Orthodox Contradictory expressions in other places. That word *Jewel* is commonly used in a good sense, and I know no reason why this Book of the Authors might not be properly enough called so, though the Animadverter hath debased the meaning of the word to deprave and undervalue the worth of the Treatise. For I perceive that, during his Chaplainship, he hath learnt it in conversation with the Ladies, who translate it frequently to call Whore in a more civil and refined signification. But to say thus, that he suspected him at first for a Socinian, yet was quickly cured of his Jealousy, because he found the Author was Honest and Orthodox. Why should he vent his own Amusements thus to the great and real prejudice of any worthy person? It is indeed a piece of second Ingenuity for a man, that invents and suggests a Calumny of which he is sure to be convicted in the instant, and therefore with the same breath to disclaim it: but it manifests, in the mean-time how well he was inclined if he thought it would have pass'd upon the Author; and that could the Animadverter have secured his Reputation, he would have adventured the Falshood. What would he not have given to have made the world believe that he was a Socinian. In this beginning you have a right Pattern of the Animadverters whole Stuffe, and may see what Measure the Author is to expect all thorow.

But he finds, he saith, that he is one of the Men of the second Rate, (as he takes leave to stile them) that scarce ever see to the second Consequence. At first, I suspected from this expression that the Animadverter had been some Ship-Chaplain, that had been Dabbling in the Sea-Controversies, a Tarpawlin of the Faculty: but I was quickly delivered from this Jealousy by his Magisterial Contradictions, that shew him to be a man of more Consequence, one of them whose Ecclesiastical Dignities yet cannot wean them from a certain hankering after the Wit of the Laity, and applying it as their own upon (or 'tis no great matter though it be without) occasion. Yet therefore once for all he Protests, too, that he does not charge him with any of his own most obvious Consequences as his Opinions (for who would believe the one or other that reads the Author?) for 'tis plaine that he does not (nor any man that hath Eyes) discern them. This is a Candor pregnant with Contempt. But in the mean time he thinks it ingenuous to load this second Rate Frigate, (that was fitted out for the Kings and the Nations service) so deep that she can scarce swim, with a whole Cargo of Consequences which are none of the Authors, but will, upon search, be all found the Animadverters proper goods and Trade, his own Inconsequences and Inanimadversions. So men with vicious Eyes see Spiders weave from the Brim of their own Beavers.

As for example. p. 1. He saith that this Chapter does admirably serve
the

the turn of the rankest Sectarian. That in his two or three first pages he appeared a Socinian. p. 12. That his Pique at the new word Homousios carries such an ugly reflection upon the Nicene Creed, that he, the Animadverter, scarce dares understand him. p. 6. The Author speaking against introducing new Articles of Faith, the Adversary tells him; *he hopes he does not mean all our Thirty Nine Articles*; and defends them as if they were attacked. That he does implicitly condemn the whole Catholick Church both East and West for being so presumptuous in her Definitions. p. 9. That upon his Principles the Prime and most necessary Articles of Faith will be in danger. The old dormant Heresies, Monothelites, Nestorians, &c. May safely revive again. p. 13. That his are the very Dreggs of Mr. Hobbs his Divinity, and worse, p. 14. That he would have some men live like Pagans and go to no Church at all, p. 16. So far ought we know this Author is a Jesuite, and writes this Pamphlet only to embroile us Protestants. p. 25. That he is guilty of unthought, of Popery. p. 33. That our Author like her (the foolish woman) in the Proverbs, plucks down our Church with his own hands and that she had need therefore be upheld against such as he is. Of these Inferences which, not being natural, must have required some labour, he is all along very liberal to the Author; but the vile and insolent language costs him nothing, so that he lays that on prodigally and without all reason. Now whether a man that holds a true Opinion, or he that thus deduces ill Consequences from it, be the more blame-worthy, will prove to be the Case between the Animadverter and the Author. And (to shew him now from whence he borrowed his Wit of the second Rate, and at the second Hand)

— all the Subject matter of debate,
Is only, who's the Knave of the First Rate.

But he saith, because of these things, *the Mischief being done, to undo the Charme again it is become a Duty to Expose him*. Alas what are they going to do with the poor man? What kind of death is this *Exposing*? But sure, considering the Executioner, it must be some Learned sort of Cruelty. Is it the *Teda*, in which they candled a Man over in Wax, and he, instead of the wick, burnt out to his lives end like a Taper, to give light to the Company? Or is it the *Scapha*, wherein a man, being stripp'd Naked and Smeur'd with Honey, was in the scorching Sun abandon'd to be stung and Nibbled by Wasps, Hornets, and all troublesome Insects till he expired? Or is it rather *ad Bestias*, turning him out unarmed to be bated, worried, and devour'd, by the wild Beasts in the Theatre? For in the Primitive Times there were these and an hundred laudable ways more to *Expose* Christians; and the Animadverter seems to have studied them. But the Crime being of Sorcery, and that there is a *Charm* which hath wrought great Mischief and

is not to be undone but by *Exposing the Malefactor* (Charme he never so wisely) 'tis more probable that it may be the Punishment usual in such Cases. And indeed the Animadverter hath many times in the day such Fits take him, wherein he is lifted up in the Aire that six men cannot hold him down, teares, raves, and foams at the mouth, casts up all kind of trash, sometimes speakes *Greek* and *Latine*, that no man but would swear he is bewitched: and this never happens but when the Author appears to him. And though in his *Animadversions on the Title* &c. He hath so often scratched and got blood of him (the infallible Country Cure) yet he still finds no ease by it, but is rather more tormented. So that in earnest I begin to suspect him for a Witch, or however, having writ *the Naked Truth*, 'tis manifest he is a Sooth-sayer, that's as bad. Many persons besides have for tryal run needles up to the Eye in several remarkable places of his *Naked Truth*, that look like moles or warts upon his body, and yet he, though they prick never so much, feels nothing. Nay some others of the Clergy, whereof one was a Bishop, have tyed him hand and foot and thrown him into the *Thames* betwixt *Whitehall* and *Lambeth*, for experiment; laying so much weight too on him as would sink any ordinary man, and nevertheless he swims still and keeps above Water. So dangerous is it to have got an Ill Name once, either for speaking Truth or for Incantation, that it comes to the same thing almost to be Innocent or Guilty: for if a man swim he is Guilty, and to be Burnt; if he sinke, he is Drowned, and Innocent. But therefore this *Exposing* must surely be to condemne the Author, as he has done his Book already, to the Fire, (for no man stands fairer for't as being first Heretick, and now Witch by Consequence) and then the Devil sure can have no more power over the Animadverter. Yet when I consider'd better that he does not accuse him of any harme that he has suffered by him in person, but that it is the Church which may justly Complain of him, and having done her so much mischief, therefore it is become a Duty to Expose him, I could not but imagine that it must be a severer Torment: For if our Church be bewitched, and he has done it,

*Huic mites nimium Flammas, huic lenta putassent,
Flumina, fumiferi potasset nubila Peti.*

Though I never heard before of a Church that was Bewitched except that of the *Galatians*, Gal. 3. 1. Whom Saint Paul asks O foolish Galatians who hath Bewitched you? taking it for evident that they were so, because (they are his very next words) they did not obey the Truth. (And that was a *Naked Truth* with a Witness, the Apostle teaching, that Christ is become of none effect to them, that from their Christian Liberty returned to the Jewish Ceremonies. Gal. 5. 4.) But therefore I looked over the *Canons*, the *Rational*, the *Ceremonial*, the *Rubrick*, imagining the *Exposing* mention'd,

must besome new part of our Ecclesiastical Discipline, that I had not taken notice of before, and I should find it in one or other of the Offices. But I lost my labour, and 'twas but just I should, for being so simple, as not to understand at first that to *Expose* a man, is to write *Animadversions* upon him. For that is a crueller Torment then all the Ten Persecutors (and which none but this Clergy-man could have) invented. To be set in the Pillary first, and bedawb'd with so many Ad-dle Eggs of the Animadverters own Cackle as he palts him with! How miserable then is the man that must suffer afterwards, *sub tam lento Ingenio*! To be raked and harrowed thorow with so rusty a Saw! So dull a Torture that it contains all other in it, and which even the Christian Reader is scarce able to indure with all his Patience! Had he been a man of some accuteness, the pain would have been over in an instant: but this was the utmost inhumanity in whoever it was that advised (where-as several witty men, were proposed that would have been glad of the the employment) to chuse out onpurpose the veryest (Animadverter) in all the Faculty. This it is to which the Author is condemned. And now that I know it, and that it is an Office a Duty to which our Church it seems has advanc'd the Animadverter; I wish him Joy of his new Preferment, and shall henceforward take notice of him as the Church of *Englands's* Exposer, for I can never admit him by any Analogy to be an Expositor.

It is no less disingenuously, then constantly done of the Exposer in this same; p. 1. To concern the Author in the Non-Conformists, that may have reflected any where, as if there were *Socinian*, or *Pelagian* Doctrines; *Allowed to be preached and maintained in the City Pulpits*. For the Author hath not in his whole Book the least syllable that can be wrested to any such purpose. Only it serves the Adversaries turn, as he thinks, to preingage the whole Clergy and Church of *England* against him, if they were so simple, and by giving him an odious Badge and jumbling them altogether, to involve him in all the prejudices which are studiously advanced against that party. But neither have I any thing to urge of that nature further then, because he will out of season mention these matters, to observe that our Church seems too remiss in the Case of *Socinus* and *Volkelius*, who had many things to great value stolen from them by a late Plagiary, but as yet have not obtained any Justice or Restitution.

But seeing the Exposer is thus given to transforme not only the Author, but his words and his meaning; it is requisite to state this Chapter in his own Terms: as men set their Arms on their Plate, to prevent the nimbleness of such as would alter the property. The sum of what he humbly proposes is: *That nothing hath caused more mischief in the Church, then the establishing New and Many Articles of Faith, and requiring men to assent*

assent to them with Divine Faith. For the imposing such Dissenters, hath caused furious Wars and lamentable Blood-shed among Christians. That it is irrational to promote the Truth of the Gospel by Imposition, which is contrary to the Laws of the Gospel, and break an evident Commandment to establish a doubtful Truth. For if such Articles be not fully expressed in Scripture words, it is Doubtful to him upon whom it is Forced, though not to the the Imposer. If it be fully expressed in Scripture Words, there needs no new Articles: but if not so, and that it be only Deduced from Scripture Expressions, then men that are as able and knowing as the Imposer, may think it is not clearly Deduced from Scripture. But there is nothing more Fully Express, or that can be more clearly Deduced from Scripture, nor more suitable to Natural Reason, then that no man should be Forced to Believe. Because no man can Force himself to believe, no not even to believe the Scriptures. But Faith is a work of peculiar Grace and the Gift of God. And if a man Believe what is Clearly Contain'd in Scripture, he needs not believe any thing else with Divine Faith. To add to, or diminish from the Scripture, is by it unlawful, and lyable to the Curse in the Revelation. If the Imposer answer, he requires not to Believe it as Scripture, he doth, if he urge it to be believed with Divine Faith. If he say he requires it not to be Believed with Divine Faith, he does, if he make it necessary to Salvation. There is no Command nor Countenance given in the Gospel to use Force to cause men Believe. We have no Comprehensive Knowledge of the Matters declared in Scripture, that are the Prime and Necessary Articles of Faith, therefore it is not for any man to Declare one Tittle more to be Believed with Divine Faith, then God hath there Declared. He cannot find the least hint in the Word of God to use any Force to Compel men to the Churches established Doctrine or Discipline: and from Reason there can be no motive to be Forced beyond their Reason: To attempt any such Force, though to the True Beliefe, is to do Evil that Good may come of it. But the Pastor ought first by plaine and sound Doctrine to stop the Mouths of Gainsayers. When the Ministers have Preached and Prayed, they have done all they can in order to mens Believing, the rest must be left to the Justice or Mercy of God. But if turbulent spirits broach New Doctrines, Contrary to Scripture, or not Clearly Contained in the Gospel, and neither by Admonitions nor Intreaties will be stopt, the Pastors may proceed to the Exercise of the Keys. Which if it were duely performed as in the Primitive Times, and not by Lay-Chancellors and their surrogates, would be of great effect. The Magistrate ought to silence and oppose such as preach what is Contrary to or not Clearly Contained in the Gospel, and if they persevere in their perverseness, he may use his power with Christian Moderation. For his power reaches to Punish Evil Doers, who Publish or Practise somthing to subvert the Fundamentals of Religion, or to Disturbe the Peace of the State, or to Injure their Neighbours: but not to Punish Evil Believers. But if the Magistrate shall conceive he hath

power also to punish Evil Believers; and on that Pretence shall punish True Believers, the Subject is bound to submit and bear it, to the loss of Goods, Liberty or Life. The Reader will excuse this one long Quotation, for it will much shorten all that follows.

But now for which of these is it that 'tis become a Duty to Expose him? What is there here that seems not, at first sight, very Christian, very Rational? But however, it is all delivered in so Grave and In-offensive manner, that there was no temptation to alter the stile into Ridicule, and Satyre. But like some Cattle, the Animadverter, may browse upon the Leaves, or Peel the Barke, but he has not teeth for the Solid, nor can hurt the Tree but by accident. Yet a man that sees not into the second, but the Thirteenth Consequence, that is one of the Disputers of this World, and ought to be admitted to these Doubtfull Disputations (from which he ironically by St. Pauls rule forsooth excludes the Author) what is there that such an one, so subtil, so piercing, cannot distinguish upon and Controvert? Truth it self ought to sacrifice to him that he would be propitious: For if he appear on the other side, it will go against her unavoidably.

In his 27. P. he is ravish'd in Contemplation how *Rarachose* it is, to see or hear a material Question in Theology defended in the University-Schools, where one stands a Respondent, enclous'd within the Compass of his Pen, as *Popilius* the Roman Ambassador, made a Circle with his Wand about *Antiochus*, and bid him give him a determinate answer before he went out of it; a most apt and learned resemblance, and which shews the Gentlemans good reading! But it is, I confess a noble spectacle, and worthy of that Theater which the munificence of the present Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* hath dedicated in one (may it be too in the other) of our Universities; where no Apish *Scaramuccio*, no Scenical Farces, no Combat of Wild-Beasts among themselves, or with men condemn'd, is presented to the People; but the modest Skirmish of Reason, and which is usually perform'd so well that it turns to their great honour, and of our whole Nation. Provided the Chaire be well filled, with an Orthodox Professor, and who does not by *Solacismes* in *Latine*, or mistake of the Argument, or Question, render the thing ridiculous to the By-standers. That the Pew be no less fitted with a Respondent, able to sustaine and answer in all points the expectation of so Learned an Auditory: That the Opponent likewise exceed not the terms of Civility, nor Cavil where he should Argue; and that the Questions debated be so discreetly chosen, as there may be no danger, by Controverting the Truth, to unsettle the minds of the Youth ever after, and innure them to a Disputable Notion about the most weighty points of our Religion; by which sort of subtilizing the Church hath in former Ages much suffered, nor hath Ours in the Latter wholly escaped.

Now,

Now, seeing the Exposer seems to delight so much (as men use in what they excell) in this Exercise, he and I, because we cannot have the conveniency of the *Schools* and *Pew*, will play as well as we can in Paper, at this new Game of *Antiochus* and *Popilius*. I must for this time be the *Roman Senator*, and he the *Monarch of Asia*: for by the Rules of the Play, he always that hath writ the last Book is to be *Antiochus*, until the other has done replying. And I hope to gird him up to close within his Circle, that he shall appear very slender. For I am sensible, yet could not avoid it, how much of the Readers and mine own time I have run out in examining his *Levity*; but now I am glad to see my labour shorten: for, having thus plumed him of that pufe of Feathers, with which he buoy'd himself up in the Aire, and flew over our heads, it will, almost by the first *Consequence*, be manifest in his Argument, how little a Soul it is, and Body, that henceforward I am to deal with.

The Author having said that, *That which we commonly call the Apostles Creed, is, and was so received by the Primitive Church, as the sum Total of Christian Faith, necessary to Salvation. Why not now? Is the state of Salvation alter'd? If it be Compleat, what need other Articles?* The Exposer p. 2. answers. *There may have been needful heretofore, not only other Articles, but other Creeds for the further Explication of these Articles in the Apostles Creed: and yet in those New Creeds not one New Article.* 'Tis safely and cautiously said, *there May*, and not *there Were* other Articles and other Creeds needful. But the whole Clause besides is so drawn up, as if he affected the Academical glory of justifying a Paradox: nor is it for the reputation of such Creeds, whatever they be, to be maintained by the like Methods. But seeing he disdains to explicate further, how there can be a New Creed, and yet not one New Article; I will presume to understand him, and then say, that in such Creeds, whatsoever Article does either explain the Apostles Creed Contrary to, or Beside the Scripture, or does not containe the same Express Scriptural Authority (which only makes this that is called the Apostles Creed to be Authentick) that is a New Article to every man that cannot conceive the necessary Deduction. But then he galls the Author. *The Apostles Creed is the sum of the Christian Faith True. Yet I hope he will not think the Nicene, the Constantinopolitan, and the Athanasian Creed Superfluous and and unnecessary.* First, it is not necessary to take all those Three in the Lump, as the Exposer puts it: for perhaps a man may think but one, or but two of them to have been superfluous, and unnecessary. Next it is an hard thing for the Exposer, who ought rather to have proved that they were necessary to shif it back thus upon the Author. I have not spoke with him, nor know whether I shall as long as I live, (though I should be glad of the opportunity,) to know his mind. But suppose he should think them, One, Two, or Three Unnecessary, who can help

it? But so much I think, upon the State or sum of this Controversie in his own words, I may adventure for him; that as Confessions of Faith he does not disapprove them, (taking it granted there is nothing in any of them flatly against the Word of God) but that if any thing be therein drawn up in such or such an exact Forme of Words, not Expressed in Scripture, and required to be Believed with Divine Faith, as necessary to a Mans own Salvation, and without Believing which, he must Declare too that no Man else can be saved; that this is Dangerous, and the imposing of it is Unwarrantable by Reason or Scripture, He adds in this same Paragraph, that *the Authors Censure upon Constantine is so bold and upon some Godly Bishops, (whom he conceives more Zealous then Discreet, and so do some Godly Bishops conceive of this Author) and his Pique at the New Word Homooousios carryes such an ugly reflection upon the Creed, that he scarce dare understand him,* And I on the other side take his Fears and his Hopes to be alike inconsiderable. His words are p. 6. *I am confident had the most prudent and pious Constantine, the First and Best of Christian Emperours pursued his own intention, to suppress all Disputes, and all new Questions about God the Son, both Homooousian, and Homoiousian, and commanded all to acquiesce in the very Scripture Expressions, without any addition, that the Arrian Heresie had soon expired.* I note that the Exposer very disingenuously, and to make it look more ugly, take not the least notice of his Pique against Homoiousios too and the Arrian Heresie. But what is there here to fright the understanding Animadverter out of his Wits, or what to make some Godly Bishops (who it seems must be numberless or nameless) to conceive the Author more Zealous then Discreet? But for this Censure of the Author, as well as for the Godliness of the Bishops, we must acquiesce it seems upon the Credit, or Gratitude of one Nameless Exposer.

He then blames the Author p. 3. for saying p. 1. that *he would have men improve in Faith rather Intensive, then Extensive, to confirm it, rather then enlarge it.* Still and alwayes, to make things a little more ugly and of less value, he clips the Authors good English. *You would have men improve in Faith, so would I, but rather Intensive then Extensive.* 'Tis good to know all Gospel Truths, no doubt of that, the more the better still; but the Question is not what is Good, but what is Necessary. This is a pious and undoubted Truth, and confirm'd by the Author out of several Places of Scripture: May I add one Marke the 9.17. *Where one brought his Son, being troubled with a Dumb Spirit to our Saviour. v. 23. Jesus saith to the Father, if thou canst Believe, all things are possible to him that Believeth. The Father coyes out with tears, Lord I Believe, strengthen thou my Unbelieve.* And this Confession of the Intensive Truth of his Faith, with his reliance upon Christ for the strengthening of it, was sufficient to cooperate with our Saviour toward a Miracle, and throwing that Dumb and Deaf

Deaf Spirit out of a third Person. Whoever indeed will deny this Truth, must go against the whole current of the New Testament. But the Exposer is Deaf to that, 'tis all one to him. Yet he is not Dumb, though as good he had, for all he has to say to it is: *And yet it is certaine that all formal and mortal Hereticks, that are not Atheists, are justly condemn'd for want of due extension in their Faith.* What pertinence! But there goes more Faith I see to the ejection of a Talkative than of a Dumb Spirit. There is no need of further answer to so succinct a Bob, then that it had been well those terms of *Formal*, and *Mortal*, and *Hereticks*, and no less that of *Condemned* had in this place been thorowly explained. For we know that there was a time when the Protestants themselves were the *Formal*, and, to be sure, the *Mortal Hereticks*, even here in *England*, and for that very crime too, *For want of due extension in their Faith*, they were *Condemned*, whether justly or no, it is in the Exposers power to determine. For some of our Ruling Clergy, who yet would be content to be accounted good Protestants, are so loath to part with any hank they have got, at what time soever, over the poor Laity, or what other reason, that the Writ *de Heretico Comburendo*, though desired to be abolish'd, is still kept in force to this day. So that it is of more concernment then one would at first think, how far mens *Faith* (least afterwards for Believing short their Persons and Estates) be *Extended*, or taken in Execution.

He proceeds page the 3. and several that follow, to quarel the Author for quoting to this purpose *Acts 8.* and then saying: *I pray remember the Treasurer* (the Exposer will do it I warrant you, and the Chancellor too, without more intreaty) *to Candace Queen of Ethiopia, whom Philip instructed with in the Faith. His time of Catechising was very short and soon proceeded to Baptisme. But Philip first required a Confession of his Faith, and the Eunuch made it, and I beseech you observe it. I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God, and straight way he was Baptized:* How, no more then this? *No more. This little Grain of Faith, being sound, believed with all his heart, purchased the Kingdom of Heaven. 'Tis not the Quantiry but the Quality of our Faith God requireth.* Here the Exposer, pretending now to be a learned Expositor, hopes to win his Spurrs, and layes out all his ability to prove that *Philip* (in a very short time for so much work as he finds him) had instructed the Treasurer thorow the whole *Athanasian Creed*; concerning the *Equality*, *Inseparability*, *Coeternity* of the Three Persons in the *Trinity*. For, saith the Exposer, the very *Forme of Baptisme*, if thorowly explained, is a perfect Creed by it self: In the Name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; For it seems the name of the Son, was by a Divine Criticisme interposed between the other two Persons, whose Godhead was confest and acknowledged by the Jewish Church, rather then that of the Word, to denote the second Person, &c. I should be

be glad to know where the Exposer learnt that the *Jewish Church* acknowledged the Godhead of the Holy Ghost, as of a Distinct Person; which if he cannot show, he is very far out in the Matter, as he is in that Expression of *Divine Criticisme*. Therefore he may do well to Consider. But it is simply, to say no worse, done of him, to call that Forme of words as it is ordered by our Saviour himself, a *Divine Criticisme*, as if *Christ* had therein affected that Critical glory, which the Exposer himself in so subtile a Remarke doubtless pretends to. But the Exposer will not only have *Philip* to have instructed the Treasurer in this *Criticisme*, but to have read him so long a Lecture upon Baptisme, as must for certain have been out of the Assemblies, and not *Noel's Catechisme*: acquainting him and instructing him abundantly, in those great Points of Faith, the Dying, Burying, and Rising again of *Christ* for our Justification from our sins, together with the Thing signified, Death unto sin, Mortification, the New Birth unto Righteousness, then the Mystery of the First and Second Covenant, Original sin, how thereby he was a Son of Wrath, had hereby Forgiveness, of sins, Adoption, being made a Child of Grace, Co-Heire with *Christ*, to live with him in the Communion of Saints, after the Resurrection, in Life Everlasting. I am glad to see that, at least when it serves to his purpose, this Exposer will own all the Doctrines, which another Exposer would have call'd so many Stages of Regeneration, and have thought them too many to have drove over in one dayes journey, but would rather have turn'd out of the Road, and lay'd short all night somewhere by the way. Here is a whole Calvinistical Systeme of Divinity, that, if the Treasurer had been to be Baptized in the Lake of Geneva, more could not have been expected. And he has in a trice made him so perfect in it, that, as soon as the *Christ'ning* was over, he must have been fit to be received not only *ad Communionem Laicam*, but the Clericam also, if it were then come into fashion. These Exposers are notable men, they are as good as Witches, they know all things, and what was done, and what was not done equally. In earnest, he has made us as formal a story of all *Philip* said, and the Treasurer believ'd; as if he had fate all the while in the Cook-boot, and knows how long the discourse lasted, as well, as if he had set his Watch when they began, and look'd upon it just as the Spirit caught up *Philip* to *Azotus*. But (suppose, for the Exposers sake, that the Treasurer) were in a Coach, discourse, and for all the rumbling, so distinctly and thorowly, in so short a time too, if it had been, which is the uttermost, a dayes passage Catechumeniz'd) it came to this short Print between them: The Treasurer desires to be Baptized, *Philip* replys; *If thou believest with all thine heart thou mayest*, which can never signifie otherwise then with all the Intention of our Spirit, as when we are said to love God with all our Heart: The Treasurer replyes, and that's all, *I believe that Jesus Christ is the*
Son

Coach

Son of God. Now it is worth the Readers observation, that out of a desire of Civilling and the luxury the Exposer takes in it, he has quite forgot the matter he brought in Controversie. For the Dispute is concerning New Creeds, Imposed beyond clear Scripture: the Authors arguments and proofs tended wholly thither, and to that purpose he urged this passage of *Philip*, to prove that God considers both, but rather the Quality, then Quantity of our Faith. The Exposer amuses himself and us, to tell what *Philip* preach'd to the Treasurer, but never minds that, let that have been as it will, and the Eunuch have believ'd all that this man can imagine, yet all the Creed demanded, and all that he professes is no more then those formal words, believed with all his heart. *I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God*, Wherein the Author has clearly carryed, and the Exposer thus far lost the Question. And indeed *Antiochus*, you are much too blame to have put the *Romans* to all this trouble, to no purpose. But any thing to stuffe out the Dimensions of a Book, that no man may imagine he could have said so little, in so much (which is the new way of Compendiousness found out by the Exposer) whereas he might have known, that, not God only, but even men alwayes do respect the Quality of any Thing, of a Book, rather then the Quantity. One Remarke I must make more, before I take leave of this page, how, having thus liberally instructed both *Philip* and the Treasurer, he immediately chops in p. 5.

Now this Author may see what Use and Need

There was of the Constantinopolitan Creed.

That puts in one Baptisme for the Remission of Sins. I read it over and over, for there was something in it very surprising, beside the elegancy of the Verses. For the Now in that place is a word of immediate Inference, as if it appeared necessarily, from what last preceded, that he had notably foil'd the Author in some Arguments or other, and therefore exulted over him. To any man of common sense it can signifie nei her more nor less then that, (whereas I upon prospect of this spoke merrily of the *Athanasian Creed*, *Noel's* and the *Assemblies Catechisme*, &c. wherein *Philip* instructed the Treasurer) the Exposer means in good earnest (if men mean what they say) that *Philip*, having studied the *Constantinopolitan Creed* himself very exactly, explain'd every Article of it thorowly to the Eunuch, and in especial manner that of Baptisme for the Remission of Sins: Which happening to have been so many hundred years before that Council was in being, must needs be an extraordinary civility in *Philip*, and which he would scarce have done, but for the particular satisfaction of so great a personage; that had the whole manage of the Revenue of the Queen of *Ethiopia*. I am sure it is more then our Church will vouchsafe in Baptisme, ei her of Infants or those of Riper Years, with their God-Fathers, but fobbs them

them of with the plain Apostles Creed : And truly the easier the better, if after that, and by powering water upon them, these persons be without any more adoe (as the Priest according to our Rubrick, shall then say) Regenerate.

To as little purpose doth he trouble in this same 5. p. Another Scripture the first of *John* 4. 2. *Every Spirit that confesses that Jesus Christ is come in the Flesh, is of God :* Which the Author wges in confirmation of what he said before concerning the Intention of Faith. But, saith the Exposer, *Will a Mahumetan, or a Socinian Confession of Faith suffice ?* This is I trow what they call reducing a man *ad Absurdum*, and I doubt he has hamper'd the Author mischievously. No it will not suffice in the *Mahumetan* or *Socinian* interpretation : but a Confession according to the true sense of this, and the clear express words of Scripture in other places will do it, especially if *St. John*, as most men are of opinion, write his own Gospel. Nay, though the Exposer contends against this place, he admits another concerning *Peter*, that is not much more pregnant. *All the few primary Fundamentals of Christianity*, saith he, *were virtually contained in St. Peters short Confession of Faith.* Thou art *Christ* the Son of the living God : For which Confession he was blest, and upon which Faith *Christ* declared that he would build his Church as upon a Rock. In conclusion I see *Antiochus* has *ex mero motu & certâ Scientiâ*, and Prince — like Generosity, given us the Question : For I would not suspect that he hath hunted it so long till he lost it, or let it go of Necessity, because he could hold it no longer. For the Extention as well as Intention of *Peters* Faith, was terminated in these few words. For it is no irreverence to take notice how plain the Apostles were under that dispensation. The same *John* the Apostle and Evangelist *C. 14. V. 26.* and in the following Chapters, shoves how little it was, and in how narrow a compass, that they knew and believed, and yet that sufficed. Inasmuch that where *C. 16. V. 17.* Our Saviour promises the Holy Ghost, to instruct them further, he saith only, *It is Expedient for you that I go away, for if I go not away, the Comforter will not Come to you.* He saith not it is Necessary. For that Measure of true Belief would have sufficed for their own Salvation, but there was a larger Knowledge requisite for the future work of their Apostleship, In how many of them, and *St. Peter* himself as much as any, were there such Ignorances, I humbly use the word, in matters of Faith, that our Saviour could not but take notice of it and reprove them ! As for *Peter*, when our Saviour was so near his Death as to be already betray'd, yet he, *Upon whose Faith he built his Church as on a Rock,* knew not the effect of his Passion, but was ready with his sword, against *Christ's* Command and example, to have interrupted the Redemption of Mankind. And this short confession, in which all the Fundamentals were virtually contained (as the Exposer here teacheth us, and so bath

hath reduced himself to that *little Grain of Faith*, against which he contends with the Author) was upon occasion of our Saviours question, when *Peter* doubtless did his best, to answer his Lord and Master, and told him all he knew. For that similitude, taken from so small a Grain by our Saviour, did equal the proportion of Faith then attainable and requisite. And as in a Seed, the very Plain and Upright of the Plant is indiscernably express'd, though it be not branch'd out to the Eye, as when it germinates, spreads, blossomes, and bears fruit; so was the Christian Faith seminally straitned in that virtual sincerity, Vital Point, and Central vigour of Believing with all the heart that *Jesus Christ* was come in the Flesh, and was the Son of the Living God. And, would men even now Believe that one thing thorowly, they would be better Christians, then under all their Creeds, they generally are both in Doctrine and Practice. But that gradual Revelation, which after his death and Resurrection shined forth in the Holy Ghost, must now determine us again within the Bounds of that saving Ignorance by Belief according to the Scriptures, untill the last and full Manifestation. And the Intention of this Faith now also, as it hath been explain'd by the Inspiration of the Holy Spirit in the Sacred Writers, is sufficient for Salvation, without the Chicanrey and Conveyancing of humane Extentions. And the Controverser himself hath, if not by his own confession, yet, by his own Argument all along hitherto proved it.

In the 6. p, he saith that, where the Author charges some with introducing Many and New Articles of Faith, *He hopes he does not mean all our Thirty nine Articles*. If he hopes so, why doth he raise the suspicion, for which indeed there is no cause imaginable, but the Exposers own disingenuity; the Author appearing thorow his whole Book a True Subscriber to Theme, without that Latitude of Equivocation which some others use, or else they would not Publish those Doctrines they do, and be capable nevertheless of Ecclesiastical Places? But here, as though any man had meddled with those Articles, he explicates his Learning out of Bishop *Laury* and of the *Communio Laica*, which is but his harping upon one string and his usual Scanning on his fingers. For the Author having named *many and new Articles of Faith*, the Exposer revolves over in his mind *Articles*, *Articles of* — and, the word not being very pregnant, he hits at last upon *the Thirty nine Articles of the Church of England*: which yet the Exposer saith himself, *are Articles of Peace and Consent not of Faith and Communion*. Why then does he bring them by head and shoulders, when the Author he knows was only upon Articles, of Faith? He might as well have said *the Lords of the Articles*. But this, he saith, is one, as he takes it, of our Churches greatest Ecclesiastical Policies, that she admits the many in thousands and hundred thousands, without any subscription, ad Communione Laicam. Truly she

is very civil, and we are an hundred thousand times oblig'd to Her. But I know not whether she will take it well of him, that he, not being content with so good an Office as that of her *Exposer*, should pretend to be her *Ecclesiastical Politician*, over an other mans head that is fitter for both, and not expect the Reversion. And she cannot but be offended, that he should thus call her Fool by craft, assigning that for her *greatest Ecclesiastical Policy*, when to have done otherwise would have been the greatest Impertence and Folly. But who are these *the many*, whom she so graciously receives *Communione Laicam* without subscription? Truly all of us whom she trusts not *with Teaching others or with University Degrees*. The whole body of the Laity. (There again is another name for us, for we can scarce speak without affronting our selves with some contemptuous name or other that they (forsooth the Clergy) have affixed to us.

Nos Numerus sumus the many, & *fruges consumere nati*.

Even his Majesty too, God bless him, is one of the *many*, and she asks no subscription of him neither, although I believe he has *taken his Degree in the University*. Well we must be content to do as we may: we are *the many*, and you are *the few*, and make your best of it. But now, though I am none of you, yet, I can tell you a greater *Ecclesiastical Policy*, then all this you have been talking of. It is a hard Word, and though it be but one Syllable, I cannot well remember it, but by good luck it was burnt by the hand of the Hangman, about that time that *the Naked Truth* was Printed. And had that *Policy* succeeded, *the many* must have taken not only all the *Thirty Nine Articles*, but all the Ecclesiastical Errours and Inroachments that escaped notice, all in the mass at once, as if they had been Articles of Faith, infallible, unalterable; but the State of the Kingdom had been apparently changed in the very Fundamentals. For a *Few* of *the Few*, for above these forty years, have been carrying on a constant Conspiracy to turn all *Upside-down* in the Government of the Nation: But God in his mercy hath alwayes hitherto, and will; I hope, for ever frustrate all such Counsels.

In his 7. p. it is that he saith, *the Author in his 4. p. implicitly condemns the whole Catholick Church, both East and West for being so Presumptuous in her Definitions*. However if he does it but Implicitly, the *Exposer* might have been so Ingenuous or Prudent as not to have Explicated it further, but conceal'd it least it might do more harme, but at least not to have heigh en'd it so; *the whole Catholick Church*, and not only so, but, *the whole Catholick Church both in the East and West too* (why did he not add in the North and South too?) *for being so Presumptuous*, a term far beyond and contrary to the Modesty and Deference of the Authors expressions. But this is the Art and Duty of Exposing, Here it is that he brandishes the whole dint of his Disputative Faculty, and if it be not the most

most rational, I dare say (and yet I should have some difficulty to persuade men so) that it is the most foolish passage in the whole Pamphlet. It is impossible to clear the Dispute but by transcribing their own words. In the mean time therefore I heartily recommend myself to the Readers patience. The Author, pursuing his point how unsafe and unreasonable it is to Impose New Articles of Faith drawn by humane Inferences beyond the Clea Scripture Expressions; instanceth in several of the Prime and most Necessary Principles of the Trinity, especially that of the Holy Ghost. *Are they not things*, saith he, *far above the Highest Reason and Sharpest understanding that ever man had? Yet we Believe them because God, who cannot lye, hath Declared them.* Is it not then a strange thing for any man to take upon him to Declare one title more of them then God hath Declared? seeing we understand not what is Declared, I mean we have no Comprehensive Knowledge of the Matter Declared, but only a Believing Knowledge? To which the Exposer will have it that, if the Author be here bound up to his own words, (and 'tis good reason he should) he hath said that we understand not that the matter is Declared, and moreover he saith that he is sure he has done him no wrong in fixing this meaning to the Authors words. No, it is no wrong, it seems then, to say that to understand *That*, and to comprehend *What* is the same thing. As for example, (if our Ignorance may be allowed in things so infinitely above us, to allude to things as far below us) because I understand *That* the Exposer here speaks Nonsense; I must therefore be able to Comprehend *What* is the meaning of his Nonsense, and be capable to raise a Rational Deduction from it. I am sure I do the Exposer right in this Inference, and should be glad he only would therefore wear it for my sake, for it will fit none but him 'twas made for. But let us come down to the particular, *The Scripture*, saith the Author, *plainly tells, that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father, and That he is sent also by the Father, That he is sent also by the Son: but whether he Proceeds From the Son; or By the Son, the Scripture is silent.* I grant that by Rational Deduction, and Humane way of Argument 'tis probable that the Holy Ghost Proceeds from the Son, as from the Father. But we understand not What the Procession or Mission of the Holy Ghost is, and therefore we cannot prove they are Both one. And therefore to determine it or any such Divine and high Mysteries by Humane Deductions, in Humane Words, to be Imposed and Believed with Divine Faith is Dangerous: And much more the Author adds demonstratively to the same purpose,, but the Exposer culls out, by the Duty of his Place, what may best serve for his, neither will that do the turn unless he also pervert it. Here again is the *That* and the *What* the same thing. Is it the same thing to say or understand *That* the Holy Ghost is sent by the Son (which is Declared in Scripture) and to understand and comprehend *What* the Nature of that Mission is, or What the Nature of Procession that a man may
safely

safely say that he Proceeds From or By the Son, as from the Father (which is not Declared in Scripture but by Humane Deduction) and exact the Divine Belief thereof under Eternal and Temporal Penalties? Yet this is the Exposers Logick. And away he goes with it, as if the world (as this inference is) were all his own, and knocks all on the head with a killing Instance which that I may still open more visibly to the Readers, I must beg pardon that I am necessitated to repeat over again their own Words sometimes upon occasion. The Exposer saith, *But he means we have no Comprehensive knowledge. His meaning is good and true but his inference is stark naught, if he means therefore we understand not at all that this or that is Declared.* But the Author neither says nor means any such thing, and the Exposer does him notwithstanding his averment to the Contrary, the most manifest wrong imaginable: for as much as he would not only fix a false meaning upon the Authors words which I first mentioned in the beginning, but upon these other words also which, contrary to their plaine signification, he produces for proof against him. They are by the Exposers own relation, *If then our Reason understand not what is Declared* (which is the very Equipollent of what the Author had said, that we have no Comprehensive knowledge of the matter Declared) *how can we by reason make any Deduction by way of Argument from that which we understand not?* No more. From whence it is evident from that virtual repetition and natural reflection that every Conclusion hath of and upon its Premisses, that the full sense of the words must be — *from that which we understand not, Comprehensive,* And yet he saith that he does him no wrong, he is sure he does not in affixing this meaning unto those words. And proceeds, *Is it even so? Then let us put the Case with reverence that Almighty God, who assuming I suppose, the shape of an Angel, treated with Abraham face to face, as a man doth with his Friend. Should for once have spoken in the same manner, to Arrius or Socinus, and made this one Declaration, that the Catholick Churches Doctrine of the Trinity was true, and his false: then I demand, would not this have been demonstration enough of the Faith which we call Catholick either to Socinus or Arrius? And yet all these contradictory Arguments which either of them had once fancied so insoluble, supposing them not answered in particular, would remain against it, and stand as they did before, any such declaration, and yet all this without giving him any comprehensive knowledge.* This instance is made in Confutation of his own false supposition that the Authors words, *if then our reason understand not with comprehensive knowledge what is declared, how can we then make any deduction by way of Arguments from that which we understand not,* did in their true meaning signify how can we by reason make any deduction by way of Argument, from that which we understand not to have been declared, or, that I may put it the furthest I can imaginable,

to

to the Exposers purpose or service, *how can we by reason understand that it is declared*, which is to impose a most ridiculous and impossible sense upon the Authors plain words; for if we neither understand *That* nor *What*, there is an end of all understanding. Yet admitting, here, says the Exposer, I have stated you a Case which proves the contrary, for here *Arrius* or *Socinus* have no comprehensive knowledge of what is declared, and yet they understand that it is declared: and doubtless the Author would say so too, without ever meaning the Contrary: yea and that this revelation would have been demonstration enough of that Faith, which we call *Catholic*. But what would become of their former Contradictory Arguments which the Exposer saith, would stand as they did before, and remain against it. I cannot vouch for the Author, that he would be of the same opinion. For I cannot comprehend though God had not answered those Arguments of theirs, in particular as the Exposer puts it, that those Arguments would or could remain against it, and stand as they did before any such declaration, to *Arrius* and *Socinus* after they had received a sufficient demonstration from Gods own mouth by New Revelation. They would indeed remain against it, and stand as they did before to Mr. *Sherlocke*. But when I have thus given the humorous Exposer his own will and swing in every thing, yet this superlucary instance does not serve in the least to confirm his Argument that he makes against the Authors words, after his transforming them: For here *Arrius* and *Socinus* only bring their sense of hearing, and having heard this from God, do not by Reason make any Deduction by way of Argument, but by a believing knowledge do only assent to this, second further Revelation: Nor can they then from this second Revelation make any third step of Argument to extend it beyond its own tenour, without incurring the Authors just & wise Argument again, that seeing our reason understands not what is declared, I mean we have no comprehensive knowledge of this Doctrine of Trinity. (which the Exposer supposes to be declared) *how can we by reason make any deduction by way of Argument from that which we understand not, to wit, not comprehensively?* As I have abundantly cleared. But this instance was at first extinguished, when I shewed in the beginning that he did impertinently traduce the Authors words, and forge his meaning.

In the mean time, though he saith put the Case with Reverence, when the Case so put cannot admit it, I cannot but at last reflect, upon the Exposers unpardonable indiscretion, in this more then absurd and monstrous representation of God almighty, assuming the shape of an Angel as he saith he treated with *Abraham* face to face as a man doth with his friend, to Discourse with *Arrius* and *Socinus*. These are small escapes with which he aptly introduces such an interview and conference, that he treated our 4th. *Abraham* face to face, as a man doth with his friend:

for

for it is true *Abraham* is Stiled the friend of God, and that God spoke to him; but it is never said in Scripture that God did *Treat*, that is a word of Court, not of Scripture: No nor that God spoke to him face to face. But it is said in Scripture only of *Moses*, *Exod. 33. 11. The Lord spoke to him face to face as a man speaketh unto his friend.* But that was a privilege peculiar to *Moses*. *Numbers 12. 5. And the Lord came down in a Pillar of Cloud, and stood in the door of the Tabernacle of the Congregation, and called Aaron and Miriam, and they both came forth, and he said, hear now my words if there be a Prophet among you, I the Lord will make my self known to him in a Vision, and will speak unto him in a Dream: my servant Moses is not so who is faithful in all my house, with him will I speak mouth to mouth, even apparently and not in darke Speeches, and the similitude of the Lord shall he behold, wherefore then were not you afraid to speak against my Servant Moses?* (the Exposer is not afraid to do him manifest injury.) for *Deut. 34. 10. And there arose not in Israel a Prophet like unto Moses, whom the Lord knew face to face, &c.* And much more might be said of this matter, were the man capable of it: But I perceive he neither reads nor understands Scripture, and one *Divine Criticism* is stock enough it seems to set up an Exposer. Neither is it so notorious an error that he saith God assumed the shape of an Angel to treat with him. I would be glad to know of the Exposer, seeing he is so Cherubick. what is the shape of an Angel? Some humane Criticks have told me that it was the similitude of a Calfe. But Gods appearing in a shape to *Abraham*, when he treated with him face to face was in the shape of a man. *Gen. 18. 1. The Lord appeared to him in the Plane of Mamre as he sat in the Tent door, and so three men stood by him, &c.* These are easie slips and he that stumbles and falls not, gains a step. Yet for one as he mocks the Author p. 2. *That appears as one drop'd down from Heaven, vouching himself a Son of the Church of England, teaching as one having authority like a Father,* to trip in this manner, is something indecent. But to bring God in to so little a purpose, contrary to all rules, that I have seen one with a better grace brought down by a Machine to treat with *Arrius* and *Socinus*, no other Company, those who have contended against the Son of God and his Holy Spirit, whose Opinions have been the Pest of the Clergy for so many Ages, to have them now at last brought in as Privado's to the Mysteries of Heaven, and the Trinity; what Divine in his Wits but would rather have lost an Argument! What will the Gentleman I last named say, to see such a reconciliation, to behold *Arrius* and *Socinus* in so close *Communion with God*, as to be admitted even to single Revelation: He cannot then avoid thinking, what he lately printed, and now with more reason: *That God is all Love and Patience when he has taken his fill of Revenge, as others use to say the Devil is good when he is pleased.* What a shame is it to have men like the Exposer, who are

de.

dedicated to the service of the Church, and who ought as in the place quoted by the Author in the present Argument, they of all other to hold fast the form of sound Words, thus by their rash levity administer so much occasion upon the most revered subject, that one can scarce answer them in their own dialect without seeming, though never so averse to border upon their Profaneness. But these are the Divines in Mode, who, being by their Dignities and Preferments plump'd up beyond humane proportion, do whether for their Pride or Ignorance, neither understand themselves nor others, (men of Nonsense) much less do they understand to speak of God, which ought to be their study, with any tolerable *Decorum*, These are the great Animadvertisers of the times, the Church-respondents in the Pew, Men that seem to be members only of *Chelisy* Colledge, nothing but broken Windows, bare Walls, and rotten Timber. They with a few Villanous words, and a feared Reason are the only Answerers of good and serious Books: But then they think a Book to be surely answered, when as the Exposer has by an *humane Criticisme*, they have writ or scribled the same number of pages. For the Authors Book of the *Naked Truth*, chancing to be of sixty six pages, the Exposer has not bated him an Ace, but payed him exactly, though not in as good Billet, yet in as many Notches. This being done, then the Exposer ubiquits himself, peeping at the Key-holes, or picking the Locks of the Bed-chambers of all the Great Ministers, and though they be reading Papers of State, or at the Stool more seasonably obrudes his Pamphlet. Next he sends it by an express to his friends at the Universities, but especially to his own Colledge, and can scarce refrain from recommending it to the Tutors to instruct their Pupills, reading it to them in lieu of other Lectures. But they are lay'd in for provision by the Manciple and Butler, and that Quarter few escape without being sconc'd for an Animadversion. The Country Cathedralls learn it latest, and arrive by slower degrees to their understanding, by the Carrier. It grows a business of Chapter, and they admire it in body as a profound Book of Theology. Those of 'em that can confide in one another, discourse it over in private, and then 'tis odds, but, before the Laity get notice of it, they first hear it preach'd over by him whose turn it is next Sunday in the Minster, the rest conceal the Fraud for the reputation of the Diocess. After the Book is grown common the Plagiary wonders how, but that proportionable Wits jump together, the Exposer could hit so right upon his Notions. But if the Dean foresee that 'tis a very vendible Book, he you may imagine forestalls the Market, and sends up for a whole Dicker of 'em to retaile at his best advantage. All this while the little Emiffaryes here in town are not idle, but hawke about from *London* to *Westminster* with their Britches stiffe with the Copyes, and will sell them to any one for Commendation. Nor do they grudge

this drudgery out of the hope and vision that they themselves also may, at some happy hour or other, be received into the band of Answerers, and merit the same Applause and advancement. But if they found it so hard a task as I do this, sure they would be better advised. 'Tis a great pain to answer, even an Animadverter; they are much happier of the two, 'tis better by far Preaching, and a Sermon is soon carry'd over. Yet sometimes it happens the Printing of a Sermon is toilsome afterwards and hazardous: for even one that was preached before His Majesty, and by his special command to be Printed, is it seems making over again, there having been sure some error in the *Fonte*, and has lay'd several months in disobedience. But when it shall come out new vamp'd and refitted, it will be a question worthy the Schooles, whether it be the same Sermon, and whether he has not prevaricated against his Majesties special Command, and *Sinn'd on*, by Printing without a Licence. Yet I rather expect that after all, it will incur the same fate with that memorable Sermon preached before the House of Commons, at their receiving the Sacrament upon the first opening of the Parliament: Which for some dangerous opinions there vented, was so far from ever coming forth, that one might sooner have obtain'd His Majesties special Command against ever Printing it. But to return to the Exposer, who by this impertinence has forced an occasion upon me to reflect on some *Few* who are guilty of the same, and may thank him for the favour. May not, with more reason p. 1. then he saith it of the Author, *the Church justly complaine of him for thrusting out such crude indigested matter, without communicating these conceptions of his to some that would have shew'd him the weak and blind sides of them?* I profess after those passages of his that I have already taken notice of, and this egregious one the last, wherein by so few lines he hath so amply molested the Judicious Reader, I do not think I owe him the patience to consider what remains with the same exactness, every thing that he adds henceforward growing methodically slihter and worse as it hastens to, the Center of Levity, the Conclusion of his Pamphlet. Yet something I will reply all along, with more justice then he practises toward the Author, for whereas he picks out here and there what he thinks tenderest in him to tire upon, and render it by his affected misrepresentation obnoxious, but shuts his eyes as not being able to indure the resplendence of those evident Truths which he delivers with great demonstration; I shall in the Exposer only observe and deal with what seems the least impertinent. Only I may not perhaps think him worth the transcribing so punctually as I have done hitherto, but for brevity more often refer to his own pages.

Therefore be pleased to look on his p. 7. where, relating to what the Author had said p. 4. of the Procession of the Holy Ghost, wherein the

Greek

Greek Creed and ours differ, he muffles it all up with saying that yet this breaks not Communion between us, the difference arising only from the Inadequation of Languages. Which is a Mathematical and more Civil way, either of owning his Ignorance in so weighty a point, or confessing that he cannot answer what the Author hath said upon it. If by reason of the Inadequation of Languages a mystery so inexplicable could not be expressed why did either our Church or theirs meddle in it beyond the Scripture? There is no Inadequation between the Languages, in speaking of it, *Dia* and *Apo a Patre Filioque*, and *a Patre per Filium*: From the Father and Son, or From the Father By the Son: Proceeding or Sending: But no language can reach the nature of Profession or Mission, nor to represent to humane understanding how they can both be the same, or wherein they may differ. He does in this as the *Arrian* Bishops in their subscription of the *Nicene Creed* to *Jovianus* Socr. l. 3. c. 21. which now they said they could do with a good Conscience, understanding *negotio- cabulum substantie apud sanctos Patres ad consuetudinem Græci Sermonis capi*. 'Tis an happy thing I see to find our Church in good humour, else she might have made more ado about an Article of Faith, as she does about much lesser matters. 'Tis not strange that the Exposer finds no greater difference or distinction between terms so distant, seeing in the last Paragraph above, he was so dull that he understood not *What is What*. But he most aptly concludes how *Demosthenes* once answered the Orator *Æschines*, who kept much ado about an improper word. *The Fortunes of Greece do not depend upon it*. So trivial a thing it seems does the Exposer reckon it, to have improper words obtruded upon Christians in a Creed, without believing of which no man can be saved, and whereupon the Eastern and Western Churches divided with so much concernment. But how proper and ingenious a contrivance was it of the Author (who is the very Cannon of Concinnity) to bring in *Demosthenes* and *Æschines*, as being doubtless both of the Greek Church, to decide the matter in Controversy of the Procession or Mission of the Holy Ghost between them and the West. *Antiachus*, whensoever you take the Pew again, be sure you forget not *Demosthenes* and *Æschines*: For it will be to you as good as current Money, which answers all things. The Exposer, though here so gentle, yet, in the very page before this was as dogged, to as good men as the Greeks some of them, the Papists, Lutherans, and Calvinists. The Author, he says, may make as bold with them as he pleases, for we are none of these. I am not bound to make War in their vindication. But if he should once *Kyrie Eleison*, what would become of us? Good Mother Church of England maintaine this humor thorow, carry it on, but above all things make much of this thy Exposer; give him any thing, think nothing too good for him; Happy the Church that hath, and miserable that wants such a Champion!

But I must find some more expeditious way of dealing with him, and waile faster, for really I get cold. The force of all that he saith in the 8. and 9. pages, is to represent the Author ridiculously and odiously, as if upon his wishing that *Constantine* had commanded both parties *Homoosian*, and *Homoiousian* to acquiesce in the very Scripture Expressions, without any addition, whereby he is confident the *Arrian* Heresie had soon expired, he did by consequence cut *Poe-dike* to let in a Flood of all Heresies, upon the Fens of Christianity. But the words with which he cuts the Author down, are: *Why, this was the designe of the Arrians themselves, that which they drove at Court, that silence might be imposed on both Parties.* Well, and 'twas very honestly done of them and modestly, and like Christians, if the Controversie arose, as men think about the Imposing of a Creed, or Article concerning a Question so fine, in Words so Gross, which yet a man must Believe that without Believing it, *no man can be Saved*; though no humane understanding can comprehend the subject of the Question, nor the Scripture Expressions, as they conceived, did reach it. There is field enough for Faith in the Scriptures, without laying out more to it; and to resigne their Reason to be silenced in a Question, stirred up by others, that Peace might be established in the Church, was Ingenuity in them: and the contrary proceeding of the Church was the occasion of many other Heresies that else had never been heard of. But the Exposer had said something, if he could have divined that they would have used this silencing the dispute by *Constantine* as the *Arminians* (so they were at that time called) did the same in the Reigne of his late Majesty, who procuring a command from him to prohibite all writing or preaching about those points, having thereby gagged their Adversaries, did let the Press and the Pulpit loose more then ever to propagate their own Doctrines. That which the Exposer drops in the ardour of this Argument, p. 9. *How many terms in the Athanasian Creed, which to seek for in the Apostles Creed, or in the whole Bible, were to as much purpose as it was for the old affected Ciceronian in Erasmus to labour and toile his Brains to turn that Creed into Ciceronian Latine. Yet these are the terms in which the Catholick Church thought she spoke safely in these Divine matters; is, totidem verbis, either to beg the Question or make a formal resignation of it.* And our Church (how soever else he may have obliged her) has reason to resent this indiscretion. Why was she her self so indiscreet to admit such a Blab into her secrecies? How if no man else ought to have known it? It is an ill matter to put such things in mens minds, who otherwise perhaps, would never have thought of it. 'Tis enough to turn mans Stomach that is not in strong health, not only against the *Athanasian Creed*, but against all others for its sake. He saith p. 8. Scoffingly that the Author is one of those whom *St. Paul* forbids to be admitted,

any.

any doubtful Disputations: But let the Exposer see whether it be not himself rather that is there spoken of. And withall that he may make some more proper use of the place, which he warily cites not, I recommend it to him in order to his future dispute about Ceremonies: 'Tis the 14. *Rom. v. 7.* Where St. Paul calls him that contends for them the Weak Brother, *Weak in the Faith*; and such therefore the Apostle excludes from doubtful Disputations, so that one gone so far in Ceremony as the Exposer, had no License from him to Print Animadversions.

As to what he patches in p. 10. upon the matter of School-Divinity, as if the Author poured contempt upon the Fathers; I referre it to the Animadversions on the Chapter about preaching, and should I forget I desire him to put me in mind of it. And p. 11. and 12. where the Author having in his 2. and 3. p. said that, *None can force another to believe, no more then to read where the Candle does not give clear light*, and more very significantly to that purpose; the Exposer flying giddily about it, burns his wings with the very similitude of a Candle. Sure if a man went out by night on Travelling, or Bat-fowling, or Proctoring, he might catch these Exposers by Dozens. But the force of his Argument is p. 13. Whereas the Author says, you can force no mans sight or his faith, he replies, *If it be not in any mans power to Discerne Fundamental truths, (of which this Chapter treats) when they are laid before his Eyes when there is a sufficient proposal, then it is none of his fault.* Yet this is as weak as water: For, supposing a Fundamental Truth clearly demonstrated from Scripture, though a man cannot force himself to believe it, yet there is enough to render a man inexcusable to God. *God hath not been wanting* (one of the Exposers scraps) *in necessities*: but I hope he will not compel God too, but that he may dispense his saving and efficacious Influence (without which all that sufficient Proposal he speaks of will have been insufficient,) only to the minds of whom he pleases. The Animadverter in defending that a man can force himself to believe, argues against Experimental Demonstration (try it in any man in every man) but raises only a malignant ignorant and cavilling dispute, herein to reduce the Author to the Dreggs, forsooth, of Mr. Hobb's *his Divinity*, 1 c. *It is not the man's fault, saith he, if he cannot believe after a sufficient Proposal.* He saith, *he is sure*, too it is not then the man's fault. (so in the Dispute lately about *That and What*, he said, *he was sure he did the Author no wrong*) But I desire him first to read *Romans 3.* the 4, 5, 6. verses, with the Context: But especially *Romans 7.* from the 13. to the 22. verse, where the Apostle introduces a man objecting in the same words to the same purpose, *Thou wilt say unto me why doth God yet find fault*, &c. And if the Exposer will not take the Apostles Answer, but be sure of the contrary, then he too cannot, it seems force himself to believe

lieve after what he ought to have allowed for a *sufficient Proposal*. But where the Author supposes that any man does clearly or sufficiently demonstrate a Fundamental Truth from Scripture: yet unless a mans Brains be clear it is to him no demonstration. You suppose that all of you do clearly demonstrate, so that if they don't Believe you may justly open their Eyes with a paire of Pincers. Whereas there are some *Few* among the *Few*, such *Spermologers*, that unless a grain of Faith fall down, by the by, from Heaven your seed is Barren. I do not reckon much upon a Church Historical devilish believe. Unless a thing be in the Express words of Scripture, there are some of the Laity to whom a Counsel cannot demonstrate clearly, a Preacher cannot demonstrate, sneezing Powder cannot demonstrate, no Earthly can do it. Christ used Clay indeed, but it was his Spittle that gave the healing quality, and cured the Blind man. Alas you are so wise in your own conceit, that you cannot conceive how simple some poor men are. He saith, *the Reason which helps every man to see these Fundamental Truths, at least when they are shew'd and pointed out to him* (such Truths you must conceive as the Creed Doctrines of the Trinity) *is a vulgar and popular thing* (what need then so many Disputes in the Councils? and sure the Author, that he may not admit any mans hypocrisie and wilfulness to be gross and palpable, imagins there are a world of Idiots. So the exposier would now cokes the Lay-multitude, whom before he call'd the hundred thousands, and the many, and for their simplicity excusable from subscribing the 39. Articles, to be grown on the suddain so very wise men, that he may with justice therefore compel them by corporal punishments or penalties to believe in spite of their Teeth or their understandings. Alas if any men consider those Fundamental Truths, so subject he saith to vulgar and popular reason, it is one of the difficultest things in the world, and yet more to those who are most removed from being Idiots to believe them; and some men by their clear Demonstrations, by their sufficient Proposals, by their Creeds have rendered it still more difficult. Why have I wasted all this on the Exposier who, (whether it be his fault or no) yet cannot force himself to Believe even the *Naked Truth*, though so clearly demonstrated from Scripture (and the Exposier I suppose believes the Scripture) though so Consonant and obvious to the most vulgar and popular reason, but Believes his own Animadversions, against the most vulgar and popular Reason, to be a sufficient Proposal to the Contrary? In the 13 and 14. p. speaking of that place Gal. 5. 12. which the Author understands of the Magistrates Power, but the Exposier will have to be Excommunication; I crave leave to dissent from both of them, humbly conceiving that the Word there of *Cutting off* is rather meant in the usual sense of Scripture in a multitude of places, for Gods taking them off by his hand. But whatsoever it be, I desire the Exposier for his own sake to take good heed

heed that, whether it be Executing, or Punishing, or Banishing, or Excommunicating, or taking them away Gods hand of Justice, the Apostle speaks of such as taught for Circumcision, and alluding to the word wishes that they were rather *cut off*, who trouble the *Galatians* about the retaining of that, and who would oblige them contrary to *their Christian Liberty* to such *Jewish Ceremonies*.

For what he hales in of the great and notable effect *p. 14.* of conferences, wishing that there were such held publickly or privately to satisfie the Non-conformists; truly though they be no great men; yet perhaps it were fit they were first satisfied what kind of Reception they should meet with. But I doubt such Conferences in Publick are but the Resemblance and Epitome of General Councils. For that of the *Savoy* in which he instances it might almost as well have been in *Piemont*. A man disintested either way, might make a pleasant story of the *Anecdota* of that Meeting, and manifest how well his Majesties Gracious Declaration, before his return, and his Broad-Seal afterwards were pursued. But it is not my present business. But for shortness sake, as to his desire *That he that does not believe the notable effect of them would but read what my Lord Bishop of Winchester printed of that Conference, where the Adverse Party was driven immediately to assert that whatsoever may be the occasion of sin to any must be taken away*: I shall as civilly as I can, though I deferre much to his extraordinary veracity, tell the Exposer I do not believe him.

I come now to what he *p. 14, 15, 16, 17.* and in other places declares to be his Judgement, as to Compulsion in matter of Faith and Religion. The Authors opinion appears in the beginning, where I stated his own words thorow this Chapter. The expose does beat the aire, *p. 14.* concerning the *Donatists*, a most seditious and turbulent sect, who faith the Author (as it is objected by those that would have Force used) *some of them came to St. Augustine and gave thanks, that the Civil Power was made use of to restrain them, confessing that was the means that brought them to consider more calmly their own former extravagant opinions, and so brought them home to the true Church.* But he quarrels the Author for his four answers, against the Magistrates using that as a Precedent. The first, *our Case is not in repressing seditious Practises, but inforcing a Confession of Faith.* I will return straight to the Exposers Answer to this. The Authors second is; *unless it can be evidenced that their hearts were changed as well as their Profession (a thing impossible to prove) all this proves nothing.* Neither does it. For the dispute now betwixt the Author and his Adversary is, whether it be possible to compel a man to believe. This instance proves only that those *Donatists* were forced to come to Church. Therefore there cannot be a more uncharitable and disingenuous thing invented, then for the Exposer to upbraid him with such a retort, for ought he knows they were *Hypocrites*: (the Author does say so) so for
ought

ought we to know this Author is all this while a Jesuite, and writes this Pamphlet only to imbroile us Protestants. But he must make some sputter rather than be held to the terms of the Question: and truly I perceive *Antiochus* is very weary and shifts like a Crane (not to instance in a worse Bird) first one foot and then another to rest on, being tired to stand so long within so close a Circle. For thirdly the Author answers, *Put the case their hearts were really changed, as to matter of Belief, 'tis evident their hearts were very worldly still, grovelling on earth not one step nearer Heaven*: He will not be candid without Compulsion, but leaves out what follows; and sure their heart was evil, which was far more moved for the quiet enjoyment of this worlds good, then for the blessed enjoyment of Christ. In earnest I begin to think an Exposer is a Rational Creature. For had he not onpurpose left these last words out, he could not have cryed, *A horrible charitable saying! We may forgive the Author any thing after this*; which is all the Answer he gives: so charitable is the Exposer grown to the *Donatists*, for every man that will come to Church is *ipso facto* with him, a true Believer. But it did in truth appear to have been so, and there is not the least uncharitableness in this that the Author has said; For by those *Donatists* own confession, it was not any love to that which they now owned for the Truth to *St. Austin*, not any Conviction of Conscience, not so much as even an inclination to obey the Magistrate; but meer fine force and fear of Punishment that brought them to Church, and whatsoever good came on't was by accident. Whether might not a man adde that their giving thanks for that force, and so owning that Principle of Compulsion, was a further evidence that their heart was naught still, even while they were with *St. Augustine*? I think a man might, untill I be better informed. But the Author having given a fourth answer that, *suppose they were now really brought over to the Truth of the Church of Belief, and Religion by the Magistrates severity*, (I express it thus that I may not with the Exposer trifle about the *Jews* care) yet *St. Paul* hath said, *God forbid we should do evil that good may come of it*? This is answer enough for a man of understanding. For it is not lawful, suppose for *St. Austin* himself, to beguile any man even into Christianity: unless as *St. Paul* perhaps, *2 Cor. 12. 16. Being crafty caught the Corinthians with guile*, by preaching the Gospel without being burthensome to the people. No man ought to cheat another though to the true belief: Not by Interlining the Scripture. Not by false Quotation of Scripture, or of a Father. Not by forging a Heathen Prophecy, or altering an Author. Not by a false Syllogisme: Not by telling a lye for God. And if no *Pottio Fraud* much less can a *Pia Vis* be allowed, to compell them to Faith, compell them to a Creed, seeing it were to do evil that good may come of it: much less to a Creed not perfectly Scriptural, and, instead of being inforced, indeed weakened by

*pia
a Fraus*

()

by compulsion, seeing it is impossible to compel a man to believe, and some Divines teach us to believe (though I suspend,) that even God himself cannot, or doth not Compel men to Believing. But now it falls in naturally to me to be as good as my word, to consider what the Exposer replies to the Author's first answer concerning the *Donatists*, that *our Case is of enforcing a Confession of Faith, not concerning seditious Practises, of which the Donatists were notoriously guilty, in which Case he had shown before, that the Civil Magistrate may proceed to Punishment.* Wherein the Author reasons with his usual justness, and I though a very slender accession, cannot but come into him. For *St. Paul*, in the 13. Chapter of the *Romans*, laying out the Boundaries of the Duty of Christian subjects and the Magistrates Power; saith, *Rulers are not (ought not to be) a terror to good works, but to evil, and so forward: but to the Christian people he saith, they must be subject not only for wrath as those Donatists were afterwards, but for Conscience sake.* And the subjection he defines is in doing good, walking uprightly, keeping the Moral Law, Fearing, Honouring, and Paying Tribute to the Magistrate. But not one word saith the Apostle of forbearing to Preach out, of that Obedience; saying in another place *Necessity is laid upon one and woe is unto me if I preach not the Gospel:* (and that supposes too mee'ing) and as little of Compelling to hear. For in those times and a great while after, there was no enforcing to Christianity. It was very long before that came in fashion: And, writing on the suddain, I do not well remember whether it did ever before the dayes of *Pizarro* and *Almagro*, the Apostles of the *Indians*. yet upon recollection it was sooner. But what saith the Exposer to this of the *Donatists*, whom the Author allows only to have been punishable only for seditious Practises, having before declared that *for such as only refuse to conforme to the Churches established Doctrine and Discipline (pardon him if he say) really he cannot find any warrant or so much as any hint from the Gospel to use any Force to compel them: and from Reason sure there is no motive to use force, because as he shewed before, Force can't make a man believe your Doctrine, but only as an Hypocrite, Profess what he believes not.* I expect that the Exposer, in this place above all other, which I guess was his greatest motive to this Employment, should ply and overlay him now with Reason, but especially with Scripture, let us hear how he answers. I say only this p. 5. (for he speaks now of our Non-Conformists) *the very Act against them calls them Seditious Conventicles, and openly to break so many known Laws of the Land, after so many reinforcements, is not this to be turbulent?* This now you must understand to be Reason, and not Scripture: That I suppose as the strongest is reserved for the Rear. Truly, (as far as a man can comprehend by comparing that with other Acts of this Parliament,) they did only appoint that the Penalty of Sedition should ly against those that frequent such Meetings: as in the Act against *Irish Cares*, if it be not in it self a Nuisance no Law-givers can make it so. Nor can any Legislators

make that to be *Sedition* which is not *Sedition* in its own nature. So Prohibitions of that kind operate no more as to the intrinseque Quality, then a publick Allowance of taking away any honest mens Goods by violence and giving it another name, would extinguish the Robbery. It was the King and Parliaments prudence to make such Laws, and as long as they shall continue of that mind, it is reason, the Non-Conformists should lye under the Penalty, which I humbly conceive is all that could be intended. But the Exposer rivers this with Reason again, not Gospel. And was it not ever understood so in all Religions; even in Heathen Rome? The most learned P. Ærodius tells us (Does he so? What is it I beseech you) that the Roman Senate (the Exposer quotes it at large as a story of great use and not to be huddled over; I must be glad to contract it) made an Act against the Conventicles of certain Innovators in their Religion; if any particular person judged such a sacrifice to be necessary, he must repair first to the Prætor, he to the Senate, where the Quorum must be an hundred, and they must not neither give him leave if at all to have above five persons present at the Meetings. The self same number, beside the Dissenters own Family, is so far forth indur'd by an Act of this present Parliament, that there must be more then Five to make it a Conventicle. This is a very subtile Remarque that he has made, as if it were one of those Witty accidents of Fortune, or an extraordinary hand of Providence, that the Senate of Rome and the Parliament of England should hit so pat, upon an Act of the same nature: And upon that number of Five. However they are oblig'd to him, and he deserves the publick Thanks for furnishing them, so long after, with a Precedent. I confesse I alwayes wonder'd they would allow them so many as Five, for fear when, not two or three, but Five of'em were gathered together God should bear their request: and it seem'd therefore to me a Formidable Number. But where has the Example been hid so long? I believe the Exposers study has laid much this way. But this was so deep an *Arcanum* that was fit for none but an Arch-Bishops Clo-
 Te. I wish he have come honestly by it. But Murder I see and Theft will out, and so this comes to light by a blabbing Animadverter, that cannot keep counsel, but will violate the Ecclesiastical secret rather then lose the Leachery of his Tattle and the vain-glory of his Pedantry. I could be glad to know what complexion this Exposer is of. I am perswaded, whatsoever he may be now, he was once extreme faire: for I remember since I was at School: that the learned P. Ovidius told me, that the Crow was once a white Bird, and much in Apollo's favour till for telling of Tales,

Sperantem non false præmia lingua,

Inter aves albas venit consistere Corvum.

And of another, the fairest thing that ever eyes were laid on, but for carrying of Storyes, was turn'd into a Jackdaw, and grew as black as a Crow, Filching, and Kaw me and Ile Kaw thee, ever after.

And that which sure must make him more black, more a Jack-daw, and like it, worthy to be expelled from the guard, and from the protection of *Minerva*, and who henceforward

Ponatur

Penatur post Noctis avert,
 is, that he does with open mouth proclaim the Naked design of all the Few that are of his Party. p. 12. *The Jews in Rome are constrained once a week to hear a Christian Sermon.* The same p. 12. *We that would oblige him to open his Eyes whether he will or no.* p. 14. *I can only wish for the present, that by forcing them into our Churches, they may hear our defences,* p. 17. *I speak nothing more against them than that they may be brought to our Churches, &c.* All this as the last result and greatest condescension of his Ecclesiastical Clemency. In conclusion he declares he would have them forced: and for what manner of force, violence, punishment or penalty he leaves it all open, go as high as men will. These things still are not Scripture neither, but Reason. His first was an Heathenish Reason in one sense, and this a Jewish in another. For I confess it is a very pregnant and adequate example, and of great authority for us to imitate; that *the Jews in Rome are constrained once a week to hear a Christian Sermon.* What could there be more proportionable, then to resemble the proceeding with Christians among themselves here in *England*, not differing in any point of Faith, with the proceeding at *Rome* against the *Jews*? But that the Exposer should implicitly liken and compare our Bishops to the Pope, may perhaps not be taken well by either Party. So that I dare say, had he consulted with his usual Prudence, he would not have disoblinded both sides at once. But for the Precedent, I have nothing to oppose to this more than the first, it being doubtless of notable effect, as notable as that of the *Piémont* conference. Only out of the affection I have for him, I would wish him to correct here one slip, if I be rightly informed; for some that have been abroad say his Intelligence from *Rome* has failed him, for that it is not once a week, but once a year that the *Jews* at *Rome* are obliged, forced, to hear a Christian Sermon. And therefore, when the *Parliamentum Inductum* sits again, I would advise him not to make his Act too severe here upon this mistake, then it is against those *Judaick Non-Conformists* at *Rome*.

But the next Reason would be so extraordinary troublesome to the Few, that are of the Exposers party and to himself, that, if he had thorowly consider'd it, I question whether he would have been so charitable to the Fanatics, that he would oblige them *to open their Eyes whether they will or no.* For it would require two of the Church of *England* to every Non-conformist, unless 'twere here and there one that had lost an Eye in the Service. Less would not do the business decently, and those two also must be well in order, to open the Non-conformists Eyes both at once, lest one Eye should be of one and the other Eye of a contrary opinion. And then they should in humanity, give them some interval for winking. Else they had as good cut off their Eye-lids, as the *Episcopal Carthaginians* used the *Presbyterian Regulus*, for keeping in the true sense to his Covenant. But on the other side, it would look too big for a Company of beggarly Fanatics, to be waited upon in as much Majesty as *Obe Shankanagh* the King of *Virginia*, that had two Squires of the Body in constant attendance, to lift up his Eye-lids

75
as oft as he conceiv'd any man worthy to be look'd upon. But let the Ex-
poser order it as he pleases, *I am not bound* to be any of his Sight-support-
ers. Onely this, it would be very improper for him to chuse any one that is
blind to that employment. For his several times repeated wish, *that they*
might be forced to come to Church to give them a fair hearing, and to hear
their discourses: truly I believe they know the Lion by the Claw, there is
a great part of Oratory consists in the choice of the Person that is to per-
swade men. And a great Skill of whatsoever Orator is, to perswade the
Auditory first that he himself is an honest and a fair man. And then he is
like to make the more impression on them too, if he be so prudent as to
chuse an acceptable subject to speak on, and manage it decently, with fit ar-
guments and good language. None but the very rabble love to hear any
thing scurrilous or railing; especially if they should hear themselves rail'd
on by him, they would be ready to give him the due applause of *Petroni-*
us his Orator, with flinging the stones about his ears, and then leaving him
to be his own Auditory. Now, they have had so amp'e experiment of the
Exposer as to all these points, in his Defence against the *Naked Truth*, that
I doubt his perswasion to this coming to hear him or others, will be of
little force with them, and nothing would oblige these *Dmatists* to it, but
the utmost extremity; *nor then would they find themselves one step nearer hea-*
ven. His Book is as good to them as a Sermon, and no doubt he has
preach'd as well as printed it, and took more pains in it than ordinary;
did his best. Must they, will they think, be compelled to make up the pomp
of his Auditory? Must they, while the good Popish Fathers suffer'd those of
Chiapa to come to Church with their *Chicalatte pots*, to comfort their
hearts, be inforced to come to Church by him, to have Snush thrust up
their Noses, *to clear their Brains for them*? 'Tis the onely way to continue
and increase the Schisme. But in good sober earnest, 'tis happy that some or
other of this *Few* chances ever and anon to speak their minds out, to shew
us plainly what they would be at. Being conscious of their own unworthi-
ne's, and hating to be reformed, it appears that they would estab'lish the
Christian Religion by a *Mahometan* way, and gather so much Force that it
might be in their power, and we lie at their mercy, to change that Religion
into *Heathenisme* *Judaisme* *Turcisme*, any thing. I speak with some emoti-
on, but not without good reason, that I question whether, which way soever
the Church Revenues were applied, such of them would not betake the m-
selves to that side as nimbly as the Needle to the Load stone. Have they
not already, *ipso facto* renounc'd their Christianity: by avowing this Prin-
ciple, so contrary to the Gospel? Why do not they *Peter Hermite* it, and
stir up our Prince to an *Holy War* abroad, to propagate the Protestant Re-
ligion, or at least our Discipline and Ceremonies, and they take the Front
of the Batrel? No 'tis much better lurking in a fat Benefice here, and to do-
mineer in their own Parishes above their Spiritual Vassals, and raise a kind
of Civil War at home, but that none will oppose them. Why may they not,

as

as well as force men to Church, cram the Holy Supper too down their
Throats (have they not done something not much unlike it) and drive them
into the Rivers by thousands to be baptized or drowned? And yet this, af-
ter the King and Parliament by his, their, Gracious Indulgence have enacted a
Liberty for Five beside their own Family to meet together in their Religious
Worship: and could not therefore intend at the same time to force them to
go to Church with the utmost or any severity. What can be the end of these
things, but to multiply Force with Force, as one absurdity is the conse-
quence of another, till they may again have debased the Reason and Spirit
of the Nation, to make them fit for Ignorance and Bondage? Is it not rea-
son, if they had care or respect to mens souls (which they onely exercise it
seems the cure of, perhaps not that neither, but evacuate one Residence by
another) to allow that men should address themselves to such Minister as
they think best for their souls health? Men are all infirm and indisposed in
their spiritual condition. What sick man, but, if a Physician were intored
upon him, might in good prudence suspect it were to kill him, or that, if the
next Heir and the Doctor could agree, he would certainly do it? I shall con-
clude this reasonable transport with remarking that although the Author
did modestly challenge any man to shew him a warrant or colour or hint
from a Scripture, to use Force to constrain men to the Established Doctrine
and Worship, and offer'd to maintain that nothing is more clear to be deduc-
ed or is more fully exprest in Scripture, nor is more suitable to Natural
Reason, than that no man be forced in such Cases; the Exposer took no-
tice of it, yet hath not produced one place of Scripture, but onely made use
of Force as an Invincible Reason; so that upon supposal, which none grant-
ed him, that all his *Few* do clearly demonstrate from Scripture, what is at
best therefore but deducible from Scripture, he thinks it reasonable to ob-
lige all men by force to come to all their Parishes. And yet he himself, who
does (I suppose it onely for the Cases sake) believe the Scripture although
he can not produce one place of Scripture for using this force, and though
the Author has produced so many, and urges the whole Scripture that such
force is not to be used, hath his brains nevertheless so confused, or so ob-
durate, that he cannot force himself to believe the Author: but persists
in his unchristian and unreasonable desire that men *may be compelled*, and
hereby deserves to be made an Example of his own Principle. For herein
he exceeds *Pharaoh*, who had ten sufficient *Proposals*, and yet his heart was
so hardned, that he would not let *Israel* go out of *Egypt*, but was proof a-
gainst Miracles. But He onely would imagine that the *Israelites* were idle,
and would therefore force them to make Brick without Straw: but the Ex-
posers heart and brains are so hardned, that he will conceive all the Non-
conformists to be *obstinate souls or hypocrites*, and therefore will *compel them*
all to go to all their Parish Churches, and to make therefore Faith without
Reason. And hence it is not onely probable but demonstrable, if they were
compelled to go and hear him and the *Few* of his Party, how well he, or
they

7 9
they would accept themselves too, in clearly demonstrating from Scripture the
Prime Articles of Faith, as it is extended in all the Creeds, of which it
was treated in this Chapter that I have now done with, and truly almost
with those remaining.

For I had intended to have gone Chapter by Chapter, affixing a distinct
Title, as he does to every one of them (that men may believe he has ani-
madverted thorowly without reading) except that concerning the difference
between Bishops and Presbyters, which, as being the most easie to be an-
swered, he therefore referred to a Bishop. But in good earnest, after ha-
ving consider'd this last Chapter, so Brutal whether as to Force or Reason,
I have changed my resolution. For he argues so despicably in the rest, that
even I, who am none of the best Disputers of this World, have conceiv'd an
utter contempt for him. He is a meer Kitchen-plunderer, and attacks but
the Baggage, where even the Suttlers would be too hard for him. P. 18.
Does the Exposer allow that under *Constantinus Pogonatus* to have been
a free General Council? In the same page, If the Exposer would have done
any thing in his, *Dic Ecclesia*, he should have proved that a General
Council is the Church, that there can be such a General Council, or
hath been; that the Church can impose new Articles of Faith beyond
the Express Words of Scripture; that a General Council cannot erre in
matters of Faith; That the Church of his making cannot erre in matters of
Faith; Whereas our Church, Article 19. saith thus far, *The Church of Je-
rusalem, Alexandria, and Antioch, have erred, so also the Church of
Rome hath erred, not onely in their living and manner of Ceremonies, but also
in matters of Faith.* This is an Induction from Particulars, and remark
the Title of the Article, being of the Church. Ours defines it, *The Visible
Church of Christ is a Congregation of faithful men, in which the pure Word of
God is preached, and the Sacraments be duly ministred, according to Christs
Ordinance in all those things that of necessity are requisite to the same.* And
then, if the Reader please to look on the 20. and 21. Articles following,
one of the *Authority of the Church*, the other of the *Authority of General
Councils*, unless a man will indolently mis-apply and mis-constreue them,
those three are a Compendious and irrefragable Answer, not onely to what
he saith here upon the Appendix, but to his whole Book, from one end to
the other, p. 19. I ask him when the *Greek Church* is excommunicate by
the *Roman*, when the *Protestants* left the *Roman Church*, when we in *Eng-
land* are neither *Papists*, *Lutherans*, nor *Calvinists*, and when in *Queen
Marys* time we returned to the *Roman Church*, what and where then was
the *Catholick Church*, that was indefectible and against which the *Gates
of Hell* did not prevail? Was it not in the *Savoy*? Moreover I ask him
what hinders but a General Council may erre in matters of Faith, when
we in *England*, that are another World, that are under an Imperial Crown,
that are none of them, as the Exposer words it, but have a distinct *Catho-
lick Faith* within our *Four Seas*, did in the *Reign* before-mentioned (and

reckon how many in that Convocation those were that dissented) again make our selves *one of them*? unless he has a mind to do so too, which would alter the Case exceedingly. P. 20. He quotes the Act 1 Eliz. cap. 1. let him mind that clause in it, *by the expresse and plain words of Canonical Scripture*, and then tell me what service it hath done him: whether he had not better have let it alone, but that it is his fate all along to be condemn'd out of his own mouth, which must alwayes succeed so, when man urges a Real Truth against a Real Truth. P. 23. I have reason to affirm and he will meet with it (and has already in the Author) that those General Councils howsoever called, were no *Representatio totius nominis Christiani*, but nominally: yea that such a Representation could not be. P. 22. He expounds Scriptures here, and thinks he does wonders in it, by assuming the Faculties of the whole Body to the Mouth, which Mouth, he saith (and in some sense 'tis very true, if a man would run over the Concordance) *is the Clergy*. But I know not why the Mouth of the Church should pretend to be the Brain of the Church; and understand and will for the whole Laity. Let every man have his word about, and 'tis reason. We are all at the same Ordinary, and pay our souls equally for the Reckoning. The Exposer's Mouth, which is unconscionable, would not onely have all the Meat but all the Talk too, not onely at Church, but at Council Table. Let him read Bishop Taylor of Liberty of Prophecy. P. 25. The Exposer, that alwayes falsely Represents his Adversary, as an Enemy to Creeds, to Fathers, (as afterwards he does to Ceremonies, to Logick, to Mathematicks, to every thing that he judiciously speaks and allows of) here. P. 25. saith the Author (who delivers but the Church of Englands Doctrine herein, and would not have Divine Faith impos'd upon, nor things prest beyond Scripture) in this matter of General Councils is guilty of *unthought of Popery*, for the Papists (really I think he part'y flanders them herein) *cannot endure Councils, General and Free*. They allow many a General Council more than we do. If the Pope do not, for some reason or other, delight in some that are past, or in having new ones; it does not follow that the Papists do not. I think those were Papists that ruffled the Pope too here in the West, and that at the Council of *Constance* burnt *John Hus* and *Hierome of Prague*, and resolv'd that Faith was not to be kept with Hereticks. But pray Mr. Exposer, if we must give divine Faith to General Councils, let the Author ask you in his turn which are those General Councils? How shall we know them? Why, onely such as accord with Scripture. Why, then we. I mean you Mr. Exposer, make our selves, you still, Judges of the General Councils, the fault you so much condemn the Author for. But what Popery, thought or unthought of, are you, in the very next line, guilty of; that call the Papes Supremacy the *Quintessence of Popery*? So that it seems the Quintessence of the Controversie betwixt our Church and theirs, is onely which shall be Pope: for the Articles of Religion we do not so much differ, we need not much

compulsion; though the Non-Conformists may. I thank you, Mr. Exposer, for your News: I had often heard it before, I confess, but till now I did never, and scarce yet can, believe it; it is rather to be wish'd than hoped for, a thing so surprizingly seasonable. But for the good news, Mr. Exposer, I will give you four Bottles (which is all I had by me, not for mine own use, but for a friend upon occasion) of the First, Second, Third, and Fourth Essence. But the Quintessence I doubt would be too strong for your Brain, especially in the morning when you are writing Animadversions. P. 28. of Ceremonies he sports unworthily, as if the Author spoke *Pro* and *Con*, Contradictions: while, as a Moderator, he advises our Church to Condescension on the right, and the Dissenters to submission on the left (how are men else to be brought together?) He had as good call every man, because he has two hands, an *Ambidexter*. He would turn every mans Stomach, worse than the Singing-mens dirty Surplices, to hear him defend it so foolishly. P. 29, 30, 35, 36. The best of his reasons for it are the Apparitions in white, in the Evangelists. The Transfiguration. The Saints in white Linnen. The Purity of a Minister. Why then does he not wear it all the Week? The Bishop Sisyinnius did so, and a Churchman asking him, why not in Black? as 'twas then the mode, he gave the same reasons; and I believe Garnay the Non-conformist; if, as they say, he went to Market in it, learn'd them of him. Why does not the Exposer (there is more reason in Scripture. Col. 4. 6. *Let your speech be alwayes seasoned with Salt, that ye may know how ye ought to answer every man*) carry a Salt-box alwayes in his Pocket, to be tasting of? for I doubt he is of the Salt that has lost his savour: however I am sure he is very insipid, and this might correct it: beside it must have been of great vertue, when he was to animadvert on the Naked Truth, that he might have known how to answer him. See Fox Vol. 3. p. 500. col. 2. what the Martyr, the Conformable Bishop Ridley saith, would not be forced to wear it, he was no Singer. See as to all these things his beloved Tertullian, de Cor. Mil. *Si ideo dicatur Coronari licere, quia non prohibeat Scriptura, aequè retorquetur; ideo Coronari non licere, quia Scriptura non jubeat.* Bishop Chrysostome, Or. 1. *adversus Judæos, Offendite eos ex Dei sententiâ jejunare. Quid, ni id fiat quâvis ebrietate sceleratius est jejunium. Etenim contra-quod fit præter Dei voluntatem est omnium pessimum. Non enim ipsa eorum qua sunt natura, sed Dei voluntas ac Decretum efficit ut eadem vel bona sint vel mala.* P. 33. his jeering at the Authors *Oh my Fathers*, is inhumane and impious: but *Oh* the pity of it that twenty such *Oh's* will not amount to one Reason. They will, Heb. 4. 12, 13. *that day, which the Devils believe and tremble, when all things shall be naked and bare before the Word of Truth.* P. 37. he is scarce proper to come in a Pulpit, after what he saith, that the Apostles received not the Sacrament sitting; much less after p. 41. he has said, *We read that our Saviour knelt in several places, much less after p. 59. where of preaching he saith, He knows not what the Author means by the Demonstration of* the

the Spirit, *unless to speak as he does, magisterially.* He never read *1 Cor. 2. 4.* of preaching in demonstration of the Spirit, nor *Mat. 7. 29.* how Christ taught as one having authority; there is such an Art if he knew it. P. 42. he can never answer the Author upon *Rom. 14.* where the *zealous Observer of Ceremonies is the Weak Brother.* He whistles, *those were the Jewish Ceremonies.* The *Jews* had a fairer pretence than we: for theirs were instituted by God himself, and they knew not they were abrogate.

His intolerably ridiculous Story out of *Schottm p. 15.* of contriving a pair of Organs of Cats, which he had done well to have made the Piggs at *Hogs-Norton* play on, puts me in mind of another Story to quit it, relating as his does to screwing the Non-conformists into Church; and I could not possibly miss of the rencounter, because the Gentleman's name of whom it is told, is the Monosyllable voice with which Cats do usually address themselves to us. 'Twas (you have it as I had it) the Vice-Chancellour of one of our Universities, but now a Bishop, *Octob. 22. 1671.* and *12. Febr. 1669.* He came to a Fanaticks house, they not being then at Worship, yet one of 'm said, *They were come to pray to the God of Heaven and Earth;* he said, *Then they were within the Act.* He wou'd force them to Church to Saint *Maries*, himself laid hands on'm. He commanded them to follow him in the Kings name. His Beadle told them, *He would drive them thither in the Devils name.* The Vice-Chancellor said he had converted hundreds so at *Reading.* They spoke of *Queen Maries* dayes, he said, *he could burn them too now, if the Law requir'd it.* There was old tugging, he had the victory. They were plac'd in Saint *Maries*, with Beadles to attend them. As he carried them in he quoted *Luke 14. 23. Compel them to come in.* What pity 'tis the Exposer knew not of this Text, that he might have had one Scripture for his Doctrine of Compulsion! But it chanced the Minister there preached one time *Acts 5. 41.* the other time *Mat. 10. 16.* Afterwards he took the penalty nevertheless for not having been at Church that same Sunday that he had hurried them thither. P. 62. He speaks of Bishop *Morton*, whose industrious Brain made up the fatal breach between the two Houses of York and Lancaster. Much good do the Clergy with their Lay Offices. He coggs p. 7. with the Bishop of *Ely* for his short Syllogisme: he made a longer of the Holiness of *Lent.* He complements (I said he would not forget him) my Lord Chancellor the *Christian Cicero.* 'Tis true of him, but contradictorily exprest. *Pf. 35. 16. With the flatterers were-busy mockers, that gnashed with their teeth.* The Exposer has commenc'd in both Faculties. But the Printer calls: the Press is in danger. I am weary of such stufte, both mine own and his. I will rather give him this following Essay of mine own to baffle him, and let him take his turn of being the *Popilins.*

A Short Historical Essay, touching General Councils, Creeds, and Imposition in Religion.

THE Christian Religion, as first Instituted by our Blessed Saviour was the greatest security to Magistrates by the Obedience which is taught, and was fitted to enjoy no less security under them by a Practice conformable to that Doctrine. For our Saviour himself, not pretending to an Earthly Kingdom, took such care therefore to instruct his followers in the due Subjection to Governours; that, while they observed his Precepts, they could neither fall under any Jealousy of State as an ambitious and dangerous Party, nor as Malefactors upon any other account deserve to suffer under the Publick Severity: So that in this only, it could seem pernicious to Government that Christianity, if rightly exercised upon its own Principles, would render all Magistracy useless. But although he, who was Lord of all, and to whom all Power was given both in Heaven and in Earth, was nevertheless contented to come in the form of a Servant, and to let the Emperours and Princes of the World alone with the use of their Dominions; he thought it good reason to retain his Religion under his own cognizance and exempt its Authority from their jurisdiction. In this alone he was imperious, and did not only practise it himself against the Laws and Customs then received, and in the face of the Magistrate; but continually seasoned and hardened his Disciples in the same confidence and obstinacy. He tells them, *They shall be brought before Kings and Governours for his name* but fear them not, he will be with them, bear them out and justify it against all Opposition. Not that he allowed them hereby to violate their duty to the Publick by any resistance in defiance of the Magistracy; but he instructed and animated them in their duty to God, in despite of Suffering.

In this manner Christianity did at first set out and accordingly found reception. For although our Blessed Saviour, having fulfilled all Righteousness, and the time of his Ministry being compleated, did by his Death set the Seal to his Doctrine, and shew the way toward Life and Immortality to such as Believing imitate his Example: yet did not the Heathen Magistrate take the Government to be concerned in the point of Religion or upon that account consent to his Execution. Pontius Pilate, then Governour of Judaea, though he were a man unjust and cruel by Nature, and served Tiberius, the most tender, jealous, and severe in point of State or Prerogative, of all the Romane Emperours; though he understood that great Multitudes followed him, and that he was grown the Head of a new Sect that was never before heard of in the Nation, yet did not he intermeddle. But they were the men of Religion, the Chief Priests, Scribes and Elders and the High-Priest Caiaphas. And yet, although they accused him falsely, That he taught that Tribute was not to be given to Cæsar

there

that he was a Fifth Monarch, and made himself a King, and (as it is usual for some of the Clergy to terrifie the interior Magistrates out of their duty to Justice under pretence of Loyalty to the Prince) threatened Pilate that if he let that man go he was not Cæsars friend; he understanding that they did it out of Envy, and that the Justice and Innocence of our Saviour was what they could not bear with, would have adventured all their Informing at Court, and first have freed him and then have exchanged him for Barrabas; saying, that he found no fault in him: but he was overborne at last by humane weakness and poorly imagined that by washing his own hands he had expiated himself and wiped off the guilt upon those alone who were the occasion. But, as for Tiberius himself, the growth of Christianity did never increase his cares of Empire at Rome, nor trouble his sleep at Capri: but he both approved of the Doctrine, and threatened the Informers with Death; nor would have staid there, but attempted, according to the way of their Superstition, upon the intelligence he had from Pilate, to have received Christ into the number of their Deities. The Persecution of the Apostles after his Death, and the Martyrdome of Stephen happened not by the interposing of the Civil Magistrate in the matter of Religion, or any disturbance occasioned by their Doctrines: but arose from the High-Priest and his emissaries, by suborned Witnesses, stirring up the rabble in a brutish and riotous manner to execute their cruelty. How would the modern Clergy have taken and represented it, had they lived in the time of St. John Baptist and seen Jerusalem, Judæa and all the Region round about Jordan go out to be baptized by him! Yet that Herod, for any thing we read in Scripture, though he wanted not his insinulators, apprehended no Commotion: and had not Caligula banished him and his Herodias together, might in all appearance have lived without any change of Government. 'Twas she that caused John's Imprisonment for the convenience of her Incest, Herod indeed feared him, but rather revered him, as a just man, and an holy; observed him and when he heard him he did many things and heard him gladly. Nor could all her subtilty have taken off his Head, but that Herod thought himself under the obligations of a Dance and an Oath, and knew not in that Case they ought both to be dispensed with. But he was exceeding sorry at his death, which few Princes are if men have lived to their jealousy or danger. The Killing of James and Imprisonment of Peter by that other Herod was because he saw he pleased the people; when the Priests had once set them on madding: a Complaisance to which the most innocent may be exposed, but which partakes more of guile than Civility or Wisdom.

But, to find out what the disinterested and prudent men of those dayes took to be the wisest and only justifiable way for the Magistrate to proceed in upon matters of Religion, I cannot see any thing more pregnant than the concurrent Judgment of three Persons, of so different Characters, and that lived so far asunder, that there can be no danger of their having

corrup

corrupted one anothers Understanding, in favour to Christianity. *Gallio*, the Deputy of *Achaia*, and the Town-clerk of *Ephesus*; The first a Jewish Doctor, by Sect a Pharisee, one of the Council, and of great Authority with the People, who (when the Chief-Priest had cast the Apostles in Prison, and charged them for Preaching against the Command he had before laid upon them) yet gave this advice, confirming it with several fresh precedents, *Acts 5*. That they should take heed to themselves what they intended to do with those men and let them alone, for if this counsel, saith he, or this work be of men, it will come to nought, but if it be of God you cannot overthrow it, lest ye be found fighting with God. So that his Opinion grounded upon his best experience, was that the otherwise unblameable Sect of Christianity might safely and ought to be left to stand or fall by Gods Providence under a free Toleration of the Magistrate. The Second was *Gallio*, *Acts 18*. A Roman, and Deputy of *Achaia*. The Jews at *Corinth* hurried Paul before his Tribunal, laying the usual charge against him, That he perswaded men to Worship God contrary to the Law: which *Gallio* looked upon as so slight and without his Cognizance, that, although most Judges are, willing to increase the jurisdiction of their Courts, He drove them away, saving Paul the labour of a defence, and told them, If it were a matter of wrong or wicked lewdness, reason would that he should bear with them, but if it be a question of words and names and of your law, look ye to it I will be no judge of such matters: and when he had so said, Paul was released, but the Greeks that were present took *Barrabas*, and before the Judgment Seat beat *Sosthenes* the Chief Ruler of the Synagogue, and Ring-leader of the Accusers. His Judgment therefore was that, to punish Christians merely for their Doctrine and Practice, unless they were Malefactors otherwise, was a thing out of the Magistrates Province and altogether unreasonable. The Third case was no less remarkable. For one *Demetrius*, that was a Silver-smith by trade and made shrines for *Diana*, stirred up all the Free-men of his Company against Paul, and indeed he stated the matter very fairly and honestly, assigning the true Reason of most of these Persecutions: Ye know that by this craft we have our wealth, but that by Pauls Preaching that they be no Gods which are made with hands, not only our Craft is in danger to be set at naught, but also the Temple of the great Goddess and her Magnificence, whom all Asia and the World Worship, should be despised and destroyed. And it is considerable that even the Jews, though of a contrary Religion yet, fomented, as it usually chanceth, this difference and egg'd the Ephesians on against the Apostle and his followers. But when they had brought *Alexander*, one of Paul's Companions into the Theatre, the Recorder of *Ephesus* (more temperate and wise than some would have been in that Office) would not make any Inquisition upon the matter, nor put *Alexander* upon his trial and defence, but, (although he himself could not have born that Office without being a great *Distant*, as he declared too in his discourse) he tells the People, They had

had brought those men which were neither robbers of Churches nor Blasphemers of their Goddesses, (for that Judge would not Condemn men by any inferences or expositions of old Statutes which long after was Julian's practice and since imitated) and therefore if Demetrius and his Craftsmen had any matter against them the Law was open, and it should be determined in a Lawful Assembly, but that the whole City was in danger to be called in question for that uproar, there being no cause whereby they might give account of that concourse. And by this he plainly enough signified, that if Paul and his Companions had stoln the Church-Plate they might well be indicted, but that Demetrius had no more reason in Law against them, then a Chandler might have had, if by Paul's Preaching Wax-tapers, as well as Silver-Candlesticks had grown out of fashion. That it is matter of right and wrong betwixt man and man that the Justice of Government looks too: but that, while Christianity was according to its own Principle carried on quietly, it might so fall that the disturbers of it were guilty of a Rior and their great City of Ephesus deserve to be fin'd for't. And taking this to have been so, he dismiss the Assembly, *Acts 19.*

After these Testimonies which I have collected out of the History of the *Acts*, as of greatest Authority, I shall only add one or two more out of the same Book, wherein Paul likewise was concern'd before Heathen Magistrates of greater eminence, *Acts 23.* Ananias the High-Priest (these always were the men) having countenanc'd and instigated the Jews to a Conspiracy, in which Paul's Life was indanger'd and alm'd at, *Lyfias* the chief Captain of Jerusalem interposes and sends him away to *Felix* then Governor of Judaea; signifying by Letter That he had been accused only of questions of their Law, but he found nothing to be laid to his Charge worthy of Death or of Bonds. Whereof *Felix* also, though the High-Priest was so zealous in the Prosecution that he took the journey on purpose, and had instructed an exquisite Orator *Tertullus* to harangue Paul out of his Life, as a Pestilent-fellow, a mover of Sedition and Ring-leader of the Sect of the Nazarenes, not omitting even to charge *Lyfias* for rescuing him by great violence from being Murdered by them, was so well satisfied of the contrary upon full hearing, that he gave him his Liberty and a Centurion for his guard, with command that none of his acquaintance should be debarr'd from coming and Ministering to him. But being indeed to leave his Government afterwards; left him in Prison; partly to shew the Jews and their High-Priest another piece of complaisant Policy, which; 'tis possible they paid well for, seeing the other reason was, because though he had sent for Paul the oftner and communed with him, in hopes that he would have given him money to be discharged, there came nothing of it. Which was so base a thing in so great a Minister, that the meanest Justice of the Peace in England would scarce have the face to do so upon the like occasion. But his Successor *Festus*, having called *Agrippa* and *Berenice* to hear the Cause, they all three were of Opinion that 'twas all on the Jews side calumny and impertinence, but

that Paul had done nothing worthy of death or of Bonds, and might have been set free but that having appeal'd to Caesar he must be transmitted to him in safe Custody. Such was the sense of those upon whom the Emperors then relied for the Government and security of their Provinces: and so gross were their Heathen understandings, that they could not yet comprehend how quietness was Sedition, or the innocence of the Christian Worship could be subject to forfeiture or penalty. Nay, when Paul appear'd even before Nero himself and had none to stand by him but all forsook him: he was by that Emperor acquitted, and permitted a long time to follow the work of his Ministry. 'Tis true that afterwards this Nero had the honour to be the First of the Roman Emperors that Persecuted Christianity; whence it is that Tertullian in his *Apologetic* saith; *We glory in having such an one, the first beginner and Author of our punishment, for there is none that hath read of him, but must understand some great good to have been in that Doctrine, otherwise Nero would not have Condemned it.*

And thence forward Christianity for about Three hundred Years lay subject to Persecution. For the *Gentile* Priests could not but observe a great decay in their Parishes, a neglect of their Sacrifices and diminution of their Profits by the daily and visible increase of that Religion. And God in his wise Providence had so ordered that, as the *Jews* already so, the *Heathens* now having fill'd up their measure with iniquity, *Sprinkling the Blood of his Saints among their Sacrifices*, and the Christians having in a severe Apprentiship of so many Ages Learned the Trade of Suffering, they should at last be their own Masters and admitted to their Freedom. Neither yet, even in those times when they lay expos'd to Persecution, were they without some Intervalls and catching seasons of Tranquility, wherein the Churches had leisure to reap considerable advantage, and the Clergy too might have been inured, as they had been Exemplary under Affliction so, to bear themselves like Christians when they should arrive at a full prosperity. For as oft as there came a just *Heathen* Emperour and a lover of Mankind, that either himself observed, or understood by the Governours of his Provinces, the innocence of their Religion and Practices, their readiness to pay Tribute, their Prayers for his Government and Person, their faithful Service in his Wars, but their Christian valour and contumacy to Death under the most exquisite Torments, for their holy profession; he forthwith relented, he rebated the Sword of the Executioner, and could not find in his heart or in his power to exercise it against the exercise of that Religion. It being demonstrable that a Religion instituted upon Justice betwixt man and man. Love to one another, yea even their Enemies, Obedience to the Magistrate in all Humane and Moral Matters, and in Divine Worship upon a constant exercise thereof and as constant Suffering in that Cause, without any pretence or latitude for Resistance, cannot, so long as it is true on itself in these things, fall within the Magistrates Jurisdiction.

But

But as it first was planted without the Magistrates hand, and the more they pluck'd at it, so much the more still it flourished, so it will be to the end of the world, and whensoever Governors have a mind to try for it, it will by the same means and method sooner or later foil them; but, if they have a mind to pull up that Mandrake, it were advisable for them not to do it themselves, but to chuse out a Dog for the Employment. I confess whensoever a Christian transgresses these bounds once, he is impoundable, or like a wafe and stray whom *Christ* knows not, he falls to the Lord of the Mannor. But otherwise he cannot suffer, he is invulnerable by the sword of Justice: only a man may swear and damn himself to kill the first honest man he meets, which hath been and is the case of all true Christians worshipping God under the power and violence of their Persecutors.

But the Truth is that, even in those times which some men now, as oft as it is for their advantage, do consecrate under the name of Primitive, the Christians were become guilty of their own punishment, and had it not been, as is most usual, that the more Sincere Professors suffered promiscuously for the Sins and Crimes of those that were Carnal and Hypocrites, their Persecutors may be look'd upon as having been the due Administrators of God's Justice. For (not to go deeper) if we consider but that which is reckoned the Tenth Persecution under *Dioclesian*, so incorrigible were they after nine preceding, what other could be expected when, as *Eusebius* l. 3. c. 1. sadly laments, having related how before that the Christians lived in great trust and reputation in Court, the Bishops of each Church were beloved esteem'd and revered by all mankind and by the Presidents of the Provinces, the Meetings in all the Cities were so many and numerous, that it was necessary and allow'd them to erect in every one spacious and goodly Churches, all things went on prosperously with them, and to such an height that no envious Man could disturb them, no Devil could hurt them, as long as walking yet worthy of those mercies they were under the Almighty's care and protection: after that our ass'ur by that too much Liberty, degenerated into Luxury and Laziness, and some prosecuted others with Hatred and Contumely, and almost all of us wounded our selves with the weapons of the Tongue in ill language when Bishops set upon Bishops, and the people that belonged to one of them stirred Sedition against the people of another; then horrible Hypocrisy and Disimulation sprung up to the utmost extremity of Malice, and the Judgment of God, while yet there was liberty to meet in Congregations, did sensibly and by steps begin to visit us, the Persecution at first discharging it self upon our Brethren that were in the Army. But we having no feeling of the hand of God, nor endeavoring to make our peace with him, and living as if we believed that God did neither take notice of our Transgressions nor would visit us for them, we heaped up Iniquity upon Iniquity. And those which seemed to be our Pastors, kicking under foot the rules of Piety, were inflamed among themselves with mutual Contentions, and while they minded nothing else but to exaggerate their Quarrells, Threats, Emulation, Hatred and Enmities, and earnestly each of them pursued his particular Ambition in a Tyrannical manner,

H

then

then indeed the Lord, then I say, according to the voice of the Prophet *Jeremy*, he covered the Daughter of *Sion* with a cloud in his anger, and cast down from Heaven unto earth the beauty of *Israel* and remembered not his foot-stool in the day of his anger. And so the Pious Historian pathetically goes on, and explores the Calamities that ensued, to the loss of all that stock of Reputation, Advantage, Liberty and Safety, which Christian people had by true Piety and adhering strictly to the Rules of their Profession formerly acquired and enjoyed, but had now forfeited and smarted deservedly under *Dioclesian's* persecution. And it was a severe one, the longest too that ever happened, ten years from his beginning of it and continued by others: by which time one might have thought the Church would have been sufficiently winnowed, and nothing left but the pure Wheat, whereas it proved quite contrary, and the holiest and most constant of the Christians being blown away by Martyrdom, it seem'd by the succeeding times as if nothing but the Chaff and the Tares had remained. But there was yet such a Seed left, and notwithstanding the defection of many, so internal a virtue in the Religion it self, that *Dioclesian* could no longer stand against it, and tired out in two years time, was glad to betake himself from rooting out Christianity, to gardening and to sow Pot-herbs at *Salona*. And he with his Partner *Maximianus*, religned the Empire to *Galerius* and *Constantine*, the excellent Father of a more glorious and Christian Son, *Constantine* the Great, who in due season succeeded him, and by a chain of God's extraordinary providences seemed to have been let down from Heaven to be the Emperor of the whole World, and as I may say, the Universal Apostle of Christianity.

It is unexpressible the vertue of that Prince, his Care, his Indulgence, his Liberality, his own Example, every thing that could possibly tend to the promotion and encouragement of true Religion and Piety. And in order to that he thought he could not do better, neither indeed could he, then to shew a peculiar respect to the Clergy and Bishops, providing largely for their subsistence, had they too on their part behaved themselves worthy of their High Calling, and known to make right use of the advantages of his Bounty to the same ends that they were by him intended. For if the Apostle *1 Tim. 5. 17.* requires that an Elder, provided he rule well, be accounted worthy of Double Honor, especially those who laboring in the Word and Doctrine, it excludes not a Deouple or any further proportion, and indeed there cannot too high a value be set upon such a Person: and God forbid too that any measure of wealth should render a Clergy man Uncanonical. But alas, Bishops were already grown another Name and Thing, then at the Apostles Institution; and had so altered their property, that *Paul* would have had much difficulty by all the marks in the *1. Tim. 3.* to have known them. They were ill enough under Persecution many of them, but that long and sharp Winter under *Dioclesian*, being seconded by so warm a Summer under *Constantine*, produced a Pestilence, which as an Infection that seizes sometimes only one sort of Cattel, diffused it self most remarkably thorow the whole body of the Clergy. From his reign the

most sober Historians date that New Disease which was so generally propagated then, and ever since transmitted to some of their Successors, that it hath given reason to inquire whether it only happened to those men as it might to others, or were not inherent to the very Function. It shew'd it self first in Ambition, then in Contention, next in Impolition, and after these Symptoms broke out at last like a Plague-Sore in open Persecution. They the Bishops who began to vouch themselves the Successors of *Christ*, or at least of his Apostles, yet pretended to be Heirs and Executors of the *Jewish* High-Priests and the Heathen Tyrants, and were ready to prove the Will. The Ignorant *Jews* and Infidels understood not how to Persecute, had no Commission to meddle with Religion, but the Bishops had studied the Scriptures, knew better things, and the same, which was Cruelty and Tyranny in the Heathens, if done by a Christian and Ecclesiastical hand, was hallowed to be Church-government and the care of a Diocese. But that I may not seem to speak without book or out-run the History, I shall return to proceed by those degrees I newly mention'd whereby the Christian Religion was usurped upon, and those things became their crime which were their duties.

The first was the Ambition of the Bishops, which had even before this, taken its rise when in the intervals of the former Persecutions the Piety of the Christians had laid out ample provisions for the Church, but when *Constantine* not only restored those which had been all confiscate under *Dioclesian*, but was every day adding some new Possession, Priviledg, or Honor, a Bishoprick became very desirable, and was not only a *Good Work* but a Good Thing, especially when there was now no danger of paying as it was usual, formerly their First-fruits to the Emperor by Martyrdom. The Arts by which Ambition climes, are Calumny, Dissimulation, Cruelty, Bribery, Adulation, all applyed in their proper places and seasons; and when the man hath attained his end he ordinarily shows himself then in his colours, in Pride, Opiniastry, Contention, and all other requisite or incident ill Qualities. And if the Clergy of those times had some more dextrous and innocent way then this of managing their Ambition, it is to be lamented *inter Artes Dependitas*, or lyes enviously hid by some musty Book-worm in his private Library. But so much I find that both before, and then, and after, they cast such Crimes at one another, that a Man would scarce think he were reading an History of Bishops, but a Legend of Divels: and each took such care to blacken his adversary, that he regarded not how he smutted himself thereby and his own Order, to the Laughter or Horror of the by-standers. And one thing I remark particularly, that as Son of a Whore is the modern Word of Reproach among the Laity, of the same use then among the Clergy was Heretick. There were indeed Hereticks as well as there are Bastards, and perhaps it was not their fault, (neither of 'em could help it) but the Mothers or the Fathers. but they made so many Hereticks in those days, that 'tis hard to think they really believ'd them so, but adventur'd the Name only to pick a Quarrel. And one thing that makes it very suspicious, is, that in the Ecclesiastical History the Ring-leaders of any Heresy

for the most part accused of having a mind to be a Bishop, though it was not the way to come to it. As there was the damnable Heresy of the *Novatians*, against which *Constantine*, notwithstanding his Declaration of general Indulgence at his coming in, was shortly after so incensed, that he published a most severe Proclamation against them; *Cognoscite jam per legem hanc qua a me sancita est O Novatiani* &c. prohibiting all their meetings not only in Publick but in their own Private Houses, and that all such places where they assembled for their worship, should be rased to the ground without delay or controversy, &c. *Eusl. l. 3. c. 62. de vita Constantini*. Now the story the Bishops tell of *Novatus* the Author of that Sect *Euseb. l. 6. c. 42.* is in the words of *Cornelius* the Bishop of *Rome*, the very first line. But that you may know that this brave *Novatus* did even before that affect to be a Bishop. (a great crime in him) that he might conceal that petulant Ambition, he for a better cover to his arrogance, had got some Confessors into his Society, &c. and goes on calling him all to naught, but then, saith he, he came with two Reprobates of his own Heresy into a little, the very least, Shire of Italy and by their means seduced three most simple high-shoon Bishops, wheedling them that they must with all speed go to *Rome* and there meeting with other Bishops all Matters should be reconciled. And when he had got thither these three Silly Fellows, as I said, that were not aware of his cunning, he had prepared a company of Rogues like Himself, that treated them in a private room very freely, and having thrack'd their bellies and heads full with meat and drink, compell'd the poor drunken Bishops by an imaginary and vain Imposition of Hands, to make *Novatus* also a Bishop. Might not one of the same Order now better have conceal'd these things had they been true, but such was the discretion. Then he tells that one of the three returned soon after, repenting it seems next morning, and so he receiv'd him again into the Church unto the Laick Communion. But for the other two he had sent Successors into their places. And yet after all this ado, and the whetting of *Constantine*, contrary to his own Nature and his own Declarations against the *Novatians*, I cannot find their Heresy to have been other then that they were the *Puritans* of those times, and a sort of Non-conformists that could have subscribed to the Six and thirty Articles, but differed only in those of Discipline: and upon some inormities therein separated, and (which will always be sufficient to qualify an Heretick) they instituted Bishops of their own in most places. And yet afterwards in the times of the best *Homotusian* Emperors, a sober and strictly Religious People did so constantly adhere to them, that the Bishops of the Church too found meet to give them fair quarter; for as much as they differ'd not in Fundamentals, and therefore were of use to them against Hereticks that were more dangerous and diametrically opposite to the Religion. Nay in so much, that even the Bishop of *Constantinople*, yea of *Rome*, notwithstanding that most tender point and interest of Episcopacy, suffered the *Novatian* Bishops to walk cheek by jowl with them in their own Docefs; until that, as *Socr. l. 7. c. 11.* the Roman Episcopacy having as it ware pass'd the bounds of Priesthood, slipp'd into a Secular Principality,

episcopality, and thenceforward the Roman Bishops would not suffer their Meetings with Security, but, though they commended them for their Consent in the same Faith with them, yet took away all their Estates. But at Constantinople they continued to fare better, the Bishops of that Church embracing the Novatians and giving them free liberty to keep their Convincticles in their Churches. What, and to have their Bishops too, Altar against Altar? A Condescension which as our Non-conformists seem not to desire or think of, so the Wisdom of these times would, I suppose, judge to be very unreasonable, but rather that it were fit to take the other course, and that whatsoever advantage the Religion might probably receive from their Doctrine and party, 'tis better to suppress them and make havock both of their Estates and Persons. But however the Hereticks in *Constantine's* time had the less reason to complain of ill Measure, seeing it was that the Bishops meted by among themselves. I pass over that controversy betwixt *Cecilianus*, the Bishop of *Carthage* and his adherents, with another set of Bishops there in *Africk*, upon which *Constantine* ordered ten of each party to appear before *Miltiades* the Bishop of *Rome* and others to have it decided. Yet after they had given sentence, *Constantine* found it necessary to have a Council for a review of the business, as in his Letter to *Chrestus* the Bishop of *Syracuse*, *Euseb.* l. 10. c. 6. Whereas several have formerly separated from the Catholick Heresy, (for that word was not yet so ill natur'd but that it might sometimes be used in its proper and good Sense:) and then relates his Commission to the Bishop of *Rome* and others; But for as much as some having been careless of their own salvation, and forgetting the reverence due to that most holy Heresy (again) will not yet lay down their enmity, nor admit the sentence that hath been given, obstinately affirming that they were but a few that pronounced the Sentence, and that they did it very precipitately, before they had duly inquired of the matter: and from hence it hath happened that both they who ought to have kept a brotherly and unanimous agreement together, do abominably and flagitiously dissent from one another, and such whose minds are alienated from the most holy Religion, do make a mockery both of it and them. Therefore I, &c. have commanded very many Bishops out of innumerable places to meet at *Arles*, that what ought to have been quieted upon the former Sentence pronounced, may now at least be determined, &c. and you to be one of them; and therefore I have ordered the Prefect of *Sicily* to furnish you with one of the publick Stage-Coaches and so many Servants, &c.

Such was the use then of Stage-Coaches, Post-Horses, and Councils, to the great disappointment and grievance of the many: both Men and Horses and Leather being hackney'd-jaded, and worn out upon the errand of some contentious and obstinate Bishop, So went the Affairs hitherto; and thus well disposed and prepared were the Bishops to receive the Holy Ghost a second time at the great and first general Council of *Nice*, which is so much Celebrated.

The occasions of calling it were two. The first a most important question in which the Wit and Piety of their Predecessors and now theirs successively had been much exercised and taken up: that was upon what day they ought to keep *Easter*, which though it were no point of Faith that it should be kept at all, yet the very calendary of it was controverted with the same zeal, and made as neavy a do in the Church as if both parties had been Hereticks. And it is reckoned by the Church Historians as one of the chief felicities of *Constantines* Empire to have quieted in that Council this main controverlie. The second cause of the assembling them here was indeed grown, as the Bishop had order'd it, a matter of the greatest weight and consequence to the Christian Religion; one *Arrius* having, as is related, to the disturbance of the Church, started a most pernicious opinion in the point of the Trinity. Therefore from all parts of the Empire they met together at the City of *Nice*, two hundred and fifty Bishops, and better, saith *Eusebius*, a goodly company, three hundred and eighteen say others; and the Animadverter too, with that pithy remark, *pa. 23. Equal almost to the number of servants bred up in the house of Abraham*. The Emperour had accommodated them every where with the publick Posts, or layd Horses all along for the convenience of their journey thither, & all the time they were there supplied them abundantly with all sorts of provition at his own charges. And when they were all first assembled in Council, in the great Hall of the Imperial Palace, he came in, having put on his best clothes to make his guests welcome; and saluted them with that profound humility as if they all had been Emperour, nor would sit down in his Throne, no it was a very little and low stool, till they had all beckoned and made signes to him to sit down. No wonder if the first Council of *Nice* run in their heads ever after, and the ambitious Clergy, like those who have been long a thirst, took so much of *Constantines* kindness, that they are scarce come to themselves again after so many Ages. The first thing was that he acquainted them with the causes of his summoning them thither, and in a grave and most Christian discourse exhorted them (to keep the peace or) to a good agreement as there was reason. For (saith *Ruffin* L. 1. c. 2. the Bishops being met here from almost all parts, and as they use to do, bringing their quarrels about several matters along with them, every one of them was at the Emperour, offering him Petitions, laying out one anothers faults, (for all the good advice he had given them) and were more intent upon these things then upon the business they were sent for. But he, considering that by these scoldings and Bickerings the main affair was frustrated, appointed a set-day by which all the Bishops should bring him in whatsoever complaint they had against one another. And they being all brought, he made them that high Asiatick complement: God hath made you Priests, and hath given you power to judge me, and therefore it is in you to judge me righteously, But you cannot be judged by any men. It is God only can judge you, and therefore reserve all your quarrels to his Tribunal. For you are as Gods to me, and it is not convenient that a man should judge of Gods, but he only of whom it is written, God standeth in the Congregation of the Gods, and discerneth in the midst of them. And therefore setting these

these things aside, apply your minds without any contention to the concerns of God's Religion. And so without opening or reading one Petition commanded them all together to be burnt there in his presence. An action of great Charity and excellent Wisdom, had but some of the words been spared. For doubtless, though they that would have complained of their brethren, grumbled a little; yet those that were accusable were all very well satisfied: and those expressions, *you can judge me righteously, and you cannot be judged by any man, and God only can judge you. You are Gods to me, &c.* were so extremely sweet to most of the Bishops palates, that they believ'd it, and could never think of them afterwards but their teeth watered; and they ruminated so long on them, that *Constantine's* Successors came too late to repent it. But now the Bishops, having mist of their great end of quarelling one with another, betake themselves though somewhat awkwardly to business. And it is necessary to mine, that as shortly as possible for the understanding of it, I give a cursory account of *Alexander* and *Arrius*, with some few others that were the most interess'd in that general and first great revolution of Ecclesiastical Affairs, since the days of the Apostles. This *Alexander* was the Bishop of *Alexandria*, and appears to have been a pious old Man, but not equally prudent, nor in Divine things of the most capable, nor in conducting the affairs of the Church, very dextrous; but he was the Bishop. This character that I have given of him, I am the more confirm'd in from some passages that follow, and all of them pertinent to the matter before me. They were used *Sozom.* l. 2. c. 16. at *Alexandria* to keep yearly a solemn Festival to the memory of *Peter* one of their former Bishops, upon the same day that he suffered Martyrdom; which *Alexander* having Celebrated at the Church with publick Devotion, was sitting at home expecting some guests to dine with him, *Sozom.* l. 2. c. 16. As he was alone and looking towards the Sea side, he saw a pritty way off the Boys upon the beach, at an odd Recreation, imitating it seems the Rites of the Church and office of the Bishops, and was much delighted with the sight as long as it appear'd an innocont and harmless representation: but when he observed them at last how they acted, the very administration of the Sacred Mysteries, he was much troubled, and sending for some of the chief of his Clergy, caused the Boys to be taken and brought before him. He asked them particularly what kind of sport they had been at, and what the words, and what the actions were that they had used in it. After their fear had hinder'd them a while from answering, and now they were afraid of being silent, they confess'd that a Lad of their play-fellows, one *Athanasius*, had baptized some of them that were not yet initiated in those Sacred Mysteries: Whereupon *Alexander* inquired the more accurately what the Bishop of the game had said, and what he did to the boys he had baptized, what they also had answered or learned from him. At last, when *Alexander* perceiv'd by them that this Pawn-bishop had made all his removes right, and that the whole Ecclesiastical Order and Rites had been duly observed in their Interlude, he by the advice of his Priests about him approved of that Mock-baptism, and determin'd that, the boys, being

ing once in the simplicity of their minds dipped in the Divine Grace, ought not to be Re-baptized, but he perfected it with the remaining Mysteries, which it is only lawful for Priests to administer. And then he deliverd *Athanasius* and the rest of the boys that had acted the parts of *Presbyters* and *Deacons* to their Parents, calling God to witness that they should be educated in the Ministry of the Church, that they might pass their lives in that calling which they had chosen by imitation. But as for *Athanasius*, in a short while after *Alexander* took him to live with him and be his Secretary, having caused him to be carefully educated in the Schools of the best *Grammarians* and *Rhetoricians*; and he grew in the opinion of all that spoke with him a discreet and eloquent person, and will give occasion to be more then once mentioned again in this Discourse, I have translated this in a manner word for word from the Author. This good natured old Bishop *Alexander*, that was so far from Anathemizing, that he did not so much as whip the boys for profanation of the Sacrament against the Discipline of the Church, but without more doing, left them, for ought I see, at liberty to regenerate as many more Lads upon the next Holy day as they thought convenient: He *Socr. l. i. c. 3.* being a man that lived an easy and gentle life, had one day called his Priests and the rest of his Clergy together, and fell on Philosophying divinely among them, but something more subtly and curiously (though I dare say he meant no harm) then was usual, concerning the Holy Trinity. Among the rest, one *Arrius* a Priest too of *Alexandria* was there present, a Man who is described to have been a good Disputant, and others add, (the Capital accusation of those times) that he had a mind to have been a Bishop and bore a great pique at *Alexander*, for having been preferr'd before him to the See of *Alexandria*: but more are silent of any such matter, and *Sozom. l. i. c. 14.* saith he was in great esteem with his Bishop. But *Arrius* *Socr. l. i. c. 3.* hearing his discourse about the Holy Trinity and the Unity in the Trinity, conceiv'd that, as the Bishop stated it, he had reason to suspect he was introducing afresh into the Church the Heresy of *Sabellius* the African who Fatebatur unum esse Deum, & era in unam essentiam Trinitatem adducebat, ut assereret nullam esse vere subjectam proprietatem personis, sed nomina mutari pro eo atque usus poscant, ut nunc de illo ut patre, nunc ut filio, nunc ut spiritu sancto differatur: and thereupon it seems *Arrius* argued warmly for that opinion which was directly contrary to the *Africane*, driving the Bishop from one to a second, from a second to a third, seeming absurdity; which I studiously avoid the relation of, that in all these things I may not give occasion for Mens understandings to work by their memories, and propagate the same errors by the same means they were first occasion'd. But hereby *Arrius* was himself blamed as the maintainer of those absurdities which he affixed to the Bishops opinion, as is usual in the heat and wrangle of Disputation. Whereas Truth for the most part lyes in the middle, but men ordinarily seek for it in the extremities. Nor can I wonder that those ages were so fertile in what they called Heresies, when being given to meddling with the mysteries of Religion further then humane apprehension or divine revelation did or could lead them, some

some of the Bishops were so ignorant and gross, but others so speculative, acute and refining in their conceptions, that, there being moreover a good fact Bishoprick to boot in the case, it is rather admirable to me how all the Clergy from one end to tother, could escape from being or being accounted Hereticks.

Alexander hereupon *Soz. l. 1. c. 14.* instead of stilling by more prudent Methods this new Controversy, took, doubtless with a very good intention, a course that hath seldom been successful: makes himself judg of that wherein he had first been the Party, and calling to him some others of his Clergy, would needs sit in publick to have a solemn set Disputation about the whole Matter. And while *Arrius* was at it Tooth and Nail against his opposers, and the Arguments flew so thick that they darkned the Air, and no Man could yet judg which side should have the victory; the good Bishop for his part sate hay now hay, neither could tell in his Conscience of a long time which had the better of it; but sometimes he lean'd on one side and then on the other, and now encouraged and commended those of one party, and presently the contrary, but at last by his own weight he cast the Scales against *Arrius*. And from thence forward he excommunicating *Arrius* for obstinacy, and *Arrius* writing in behalf and his followers to the Bishops, each one stating his own and his adversaries case with the usual candor of such men in such Matters; the Bishops too all over began to divide upon it, and after them their people. Insomuch that *Constantine* out of a true paternal Sense and care, found necessary to send a very prudent and eminent Person to *Alexandria*, to try if he could accommodate the matter, giving him a Letter to *Alexander* and *Arrius*; how discreet, how Christian-like, I never read any thing of that nature equal to it! It is too long for me here to insert, but I gladly recommend my Reader to it in the 2^o *Euseb. de vita Const. c. 67.* where he begins *I understand the foundation of the controversy to have been this, that thou Alexander didst inquire of thy Priests concerning a passage in the Scripture, nay didst ask them concerning a frivolous quillet of a question what was each of their opinions: and thou Arrius didst inconsiderately babble what thou neither at the beginning couldst conceive, and if thou hadst conceived so, oughtst not to have vented, &c.*

But the Clergy having got this once in the wind, there was no beating them off the scent. Which induced *Constantine* to think the convening of this Council the only remedy to these Disorders. And a woful ado he had with them when they were met to manage and keep them in any tolerable *decorum*. It seemed like an Ecclesiastical Cock-pit, and a man might have laid wagers either way: the two parties contending in good earnest either for the truth or the victory, but the more unconcerned, like cunning Betters, sate judiciously hedging, and so ordered their matters that which side soever prevail'd, they would be sure to be the Winners. They were indeed a most venerable Assembly, composed of some holy, some grave, some wise, and some of them learned Persons: and *Constantine* had so charitably burnt the accusations they intended against one another, which might otherwise have depopulated and dispirited the Council, that all of them may be presumed in one or other respect to have made

a great Character. But I observe *Soz.* l. 1. c. 16. that these great Bishops, although they only had the decisive voices, yet thought fit to bring along with them certain men that were cunning at an Argument, to be auxiliary to them when it came to hard and tough Disputation; beside that they had their Priests and Deacons ready at a dead list always to assist them: So that their understandings seem'd to be sequester'd, and for their dayly Faith, they depended upon what their Chaplains would allow them. And in that quality *Athanasius* there waited upon *Alexander*, being his Deacon, (for as yet it seems Arch-bishops nor Arch-deacons were invented.) And it is not improbable that *Athanasius* having so early personated the Bishop, and seeing the declining age of *Alexander*, would be careful that *Arrius* should not step betwixt him and home upon vacancy, but did his best against him to barr up his way, as it shortly after happened; *Athanasius* succeeding after the Council in the See of *Alexandria*. In the mean time you may imagine that *Hypostasis*, *Persona*, *Substantia*, *Subsistentia*, *Essentia*, *Coessestialis*, *Consubstantialis*, *Ante secula Coeternus*, &c. were by so many disputants pick'd to the very bones, and those too broken afterwards to come to the marrow of Divinity. And never had *Constantine* in his life so hard a task as to bring them to any rational results: meekly and patiently, *Euseb.* l. 3. c. 13. de vitâ *Const.* listening to every one, taking each Man's opinion and without the acrimony with which it was delivered, helping each party where they disagreed, reconciling them by degrees when they were in the fiercest Contention, conferring with them a part courteously and mildly, telling them what was his own opinion of the matter: Which though some exceptions persons may alleadge to have been against the nature of a Free Council, yet truly unless he had taken that course, I cannot imagine how possibly he could ever have brought them to any conclusion. And thus this first, great, General Council of *Nice*, with which the world had gone big so long, and which look'd so big upon all Christendom, at last was brought in bed, and after a very hard labor deliver'd of *Homoousios*.

They all subscribed to the New Creed, except some seventeen, who it seems had rather to be Hereticks than Bishops. For now the *Anathema's* were published, and whoever held the contrary was to be punish'd by Deprivation and Banishment, all *Arrian* books to be burned, and whoever should be discover'd to conceal any of *Arrian* his writings, to dye for it. But it fared very well with those who were not such fools as to own his opinion. All they were entertain'd by the Emperor at a magnificent Feast, receiv'd from his hand rich Presents, and were honorably dismiss'd, with Letters recommending their great Abilities and performance to the Provinces, and injoyning the *Nicene* Creed to be henceforth observed. With that stroke of the Pen: *Socr.* l. 1. c. 6. For what three hundred Bishops have agreed on, (a thing indeed extraordinary) ought not to be otherwise conceiv'd of then as the decree of God Almighty, especially seeing the Holy Ghost did sit upon the minds of such and so excellent men, and open'd his divine will to them. So that they went I trow with ample satisfaction; and, as they could not but take the Emperor for a very civil, generous.

nerous, and obliging Gentleman, so they thought the better of themselves from that day forward. And how budge must they look when they returned back to their Diocesses, having every one of 'em been a principal limn of the *Acumenical, Apostolical, Catholick, Orthodox* Council! When the Catechrestical titles of the Church and the Clergy were so appropriate to them by custom, that the Christian people had relinquish'd or forgotten their claim; when every Hare that cross'd their way homeward was a Schisma'tick or an Heretick, and if their Horse stumbled with one of them, he incurr'd an Anathema. Well it was that their journeys laid so many several ways, for they were grown so cumberfom and great, that the Emperor's highway was too narrow for any two of them, and there could have been no passage without the removal of a Bishop. But soon after the Council was over, *Eusebius* the Bishop of *Nicomedia*, and *Theognis* the Bishop of *Nice*, who were already removed both by banishment and two others put in their places, were quickly restor'd upon their petition: wherein they suggested the cause of their not Signing to have been only, because they thought they could not with a safe conscience subscribe the Anathema against *Arrius*, appearing to them both by his writings, his discourses, and Sermons that they had been auditors of, nor to be guilty of those errors. As for *Arrius* himself, the Emperor quickly wrote to him. *It is now a considerable time since I writ to your Gravity to come to my Tents, that you might enjoy my countenance; so that I can scarce wonder sufficiently why you have so long delaid it: therefore now take one of the publick Coaches and make all speed to my Tents, that, having had experience of my kindness and affection to you, you may return into your own Country. God preserve you most dear Sir.* *Arrius* hereupon (with his comarade *Euzoius*) comes to *Constantine's* Army, and offers him a petition, with a confession of Faith that would have pass'd very well before the *Nicene* Council, and now satisfied the Emperor *Socr. l. 1. c. 19. & 20.* insomuch that he writ to *Anathasius*, now Bishop of *Alexandria*, to receive him into the Church: but *Anathasius* was of better mettle then so and absolutely refus'd it. Upon this *Constantine* writ him another threatening Letter: *When you have understood hereby my pleasure, see that you afford free entrance into the Church to all that desire it: for if I shall understand that any who desires to be admitted into the Church should be either hindred or forbidden by you, I will send some one of my Servants to remove you from your Degree, and place another in your stead.* Yet *Athanasius* stood it out still, though other Churches received him into Communion: and the Heretick *Novatus* could not have been more unrelenting to lapsed Christians then he was to *Arrius*. But this, joyned with other crimes which were laid to *Athanasius* his charge, at the Council of *Tyre*, (though I suppose indeed they were forged) made *Athanasius* glad to fly for it, and remain the first time in exile. Upon this whole matter it is my impartial opinion that *Arrius* or whosoever else were guilty of teaching and publishing those errors whereof he was accused, deserved the utmost Severity which consists with the Christian Religion. And so willing I have been to think well of *Athanasius* and

ill of the other, that I have on purpose avoided the reading, as I do the naming, of a book that I have hear'd tells the story quite otherwise, and have only made use of the current Historians of those times, who all of them tell it against the *Arrians*. Only I will confess, that as in reading a particular History at adventure a Man finds himself inclinable to favor the weaker party, especially if the Conqueror appear insolent; so have I been affected in reading these Authors: which does but resemble the reasonable pity that men ordinarily have too for those who though for an erroneous conscience suffer under a Christian Magistrate. And as soon as I come to *Constantius*, I shall for that reason change my compassion and be doubly engaged on the Orthodox party. But as to the whole matter of the Council of *Nice*, I must crave liberty to say, that from one end to the other, though the best of the kind, it seems to me to have been a pityful humane business, attended with all the ill circumstances of other worldly affairs, conducted by a spirit of ambition and contention, the first and so the greatest *Æcumenical* blow that by Christians was given to Christianity. And it is not from any sharpness of humor that I discourse thus freely of Things and Persons, much less of Orders of men otherwise venerable, but that where ought is extolled beyond reason and to the prejudice of Religion, it is necessary to depreciate it by true proportion. It is not their censure of *Arianism*, or the declaring of their opinion in a controverted point to the best of their understanding, (wherein to the smallness of mine they appear to have light upon the truth, had they likewise upon the measure,) that could have moved me to tell so long a story, or bring my self within the danger and aim of any capitious Reader, speaking thus with great liberty of mind but little concern for any prejudice I may receive, of things that are by some men idolized. But it is their Imposition of a new Article or Creed upon the Christian world, not being contained in express words of Scripture, to be believed with Divine Faith, under Spiritual and Civil Penalties, contrary to the Privileges of Religion and their making a Precedent follow'd and improv'd by all succeeding ages for most cruel Persecutions, that only could animate me. In digging thus for a new Deduction they undermined the fabrick of Christianity; to frame a particular Doctrine they departed from the general Rule of their Religion; and for their curiosity about an Article concerning *Christ*, they violated our Saviour's first Institution of a Church not subject to any Addition in matters of Faith, nor liable to Compulsion either in Belief or in Practice. Farr be it from me in the event as it is from my Intention, to derogate from the just authority of any of those Creeds or Confessions of Faith that are receiv'd by our Church upon clear agreement with the Scriptures: nor shall I therefore, unless some mens impertinence and indiscretion hereafter oblige me, pretend to any further knowledge of what in those particulars appears in the ancient Histories. But certainly if any Creed had been Necessary, or at least Necessary to have been Imposed, our Saviour himself would not have left his Church destitute in a thing of that moment. Or however, after the Holy Ghost, upon his departure, was descended upon the Apostles, and *They the Elders and Brethren*

shren (for so it was then) were assembled in a legitime Council at Jerusalem, it would have seemed good to the Holy Ghost and them to have saved the Council of Nice that labor, Or at least the Apostle Paul 2 Cor. 12. 2. and 4. who was caught up into Paradise, and heard unspeakable words, which it is not lawful for any man to utter, having thereby a much better opportunity then Athanasius to know the Doctrine of the Trinity, would not have been wanting, through the abundance of that revelation, to form a Creed for the Church, sufficient to have put that business beyond controversy. Especially seeing Heresies were sprung up so early, and he foresaw others, and therefore does prescribe the method how they are to be dealt with, but no Creed that I read of.

Shall any sort of men presume to interpret those words, which to him were unspeakable, by a Gibblish of their Imposing, and force every man to Cant after them what it is not lawful for any man to utter? Christ and his Apostles speak articulately enough in the Scriptures, without any Creed, as much as we are or ought to be capable of. And the Ministry of the Gospel is useful and most necessary, if it were but to press us to the reading of them, to illustrate one place by the authority of another, to inculcate those duties which are therein required, quickning us both to Faith and Practice, and showing within what bounds they are both circumscribed by our Saviour's Doctrine. And it becomes every man to be able to give a reason and account of his Faith, and to be ready to do it, without officiously gratifying those who demand it only to take advantage: and the more Christians can agree in one confession of Faith the better. But that we should believe ever the more for a Creed, it cannot be expected. In those days when Creeds were most plenty and in fashion, and every one had them at their fingers-ends, 'twas the Bible that brought in the Reformation. 'Tis true, a man would not stick to take two or three Creeds for a need, rather then want a Living, and if a man have not a good swallow, 'tis but wrapping them up in a Liturgy, like a wafer, and the whole dose will go down currently; especially if he wink at the same time and give his Assent and Consent without ever looking on them. But with out jesting, for the matter is too serious. Every man is bound to *work out his own Salvation with fear and trembling*, and therefore to use all helps possible for his best satisfaction: hearing, conferring, reading, praying for the assistance of God's Spirit; but when he hath done this, he is his own Expofitor, his own both Minister and People, Bishop and Diocess, his own Council; and his Conscience excusing or condemning him, accordingly he escapes or incurs his own internal Anathema. So that when it comes once to a Creed, made and Imposed by other men as a matter of Divine Faith, the Case grows very delicate; while he cannot apprehend, though the Imposer may, that all therein is clearly contained in Scripture, and may fear being caught in the expressions to oblige himself to a latitude or restriction, further then comports with his own sense and judgment. A Christian of honor, when it comes to this once, will weigh every word, every syllable, nay further, if he consider that the great business of this Council

cil of *Nice* was but one single Letter of the Alphabet, about the inserting or omitting of an *Iota*. There must be either that exactness in the Form of such a Creed, as I dare say, no men in the world ever were or ever will be able to modulate: or else this scrupulous private judgment must be admitted, or otherwise all Creeds become meer instruments of Equivocation or Persecution. And I must confess, when I have sometimes considered with my self the dulness of the Non-conformists, and the acuteness on the contrary of the Episcoparians, and the conscientiousness of both; I have thought that our Church might safely wave the difference with them about Ceremonies, and try it out upon the Creeds, which were both the more honorable way, and more suitable to the method of the ancient Councils, and yet perhaps might do their business as effectually. For one that is a Christian in good earnest, when a Creed is Imposed, will sooner eat fire than take it against his judgment. There have been Martyrs for Reason, and it was manly in them: but how much more would men be so for reason Religionated and Christianized! But it is an inhumane and unchristian thing of those Faith-stretchers, whosoever they be, that either put mens Persons or their Consciences upon the torture, to rack them to the length of their Notions: whereas the *Bereans* are made Gentlemen and Innobled by Patent in the *Acts*, because they would not credit *Paul* himself, whose writings now make so great a part of the New Testament, untill they had searched the Scripture daily whether those things were so, and therefore many of them believed. And therefore, although where there are such Creeds, Christians may for peace and conscience-sake acquiesce while there appears nothing in them flatly contrary to the words of the Scripture: yet when they are obruded upon a man in particular, he will look very well about him and not take them upon any Humane Authority. The greatest Pretense to Authority is in a Council. But what then? shall all Christians therefore take their Formularies of Divine Worship or Belief, upon trust, as writ in Tables of Stone, like the Commandments, deliver'd from Heaven and to be obeyed in the instant not considered: because three hundred and eighteen Bishops are met in *Abraham's* great Hall, of which most must be servants and some children, and they have resolv'd upon't in such a manner? No, a good Christian will not, cannot attune and indenture his conscience over; to be Represented by others. It is not as in Secular matters, where the States of a Kingdom are deputed by their fellow Subjects to transact for them, so in spiritual: or suppose it were, yet 'twere necessary, as in the *Polish* constitution, that nothing should be obligatory as long as there is one Dissenter, where no Temporal Interests, but every man's Eternity and Salvation are concerned. The Soul is too precious to be let out at interest upon any humane security, that does or may fail, but it is only safe when under God's custody, in its own Cabiner. But it was a General Council. A special general indeed if you consider the proportion of three hundred and eighteen, to the body of the Christian Clergy, but much more to all Christian Mankind. But it was a general Free Council of Bishops. I do not think it possible for any Council to be free that is composed only of Bishops,

and where they only have the Decisive Voces. Nor that a Free Council that takes away Christian Liberty. But that, as it was founded upon Usurpation, so it terminated in Imposition. But 'tis meant that it was Free from all external Impulsion. I confess that good meat and drink, and lodging, and money in a Man's purse, and coaches and Servants, and horses to attend them, did no violence to 'm, nor was there any false Article in it. And discoursing now with one and then another of 'm in particular, and the Emperor telling them this is my opinion, I understand it thus, and afterwards declaring his mind frequently to them in publick; no force neither. Ay! but there was a shrewd way of persuation in it. And I would be glad to know when ever and which free general Council it was that could properly be called so: but was indeed a meer Imperial or Ecclesiastical Machine, no free agent, but wound up, set on going, and let dow by the direction and hand of the Workman. A General Free Council is but a word of Art, and can never happen but under a Fifth Monarch, and that Monarch too, to return from Heaven. The Animadverter will not allow the second General Council of *Nice* to have been Free, *because it was overaw'd by an Empreß*, and was guilty of a great fault (which no Council at liberty he saith could have committed) the Decree for worshipping of Images. At this rate a Christian may scuffle however for one point among them, and chuse which council he likes best. But in good earnest I do not see but that *Constantine* might as well at this first council of *Nice*, have negotiated the Image worship, as to pay that superstitious adoration to the Bishops, and that Prostration to their Creeds was an Idolatry more pernicious in the consequence to the Christian Faith, then that under which they so lately had suffer'd Persecution. Nor can a council be said to have been at liberty which laid under so great and many obligations. But the Holy Ghost was present where there were three hundred and eighteen Bishops, and directed them or three hundred. Then, if I had been of their counsel, they should have sate at it all their lives, least they should never see him again after they were once risen. But it concerned them to settle their *Quærum* at first by his Dictates; otherwise no Bishop could have been absent or gone forth upon any occasion, but he let him out again: and it behoov'd to be very punctual in the Adjournments. 'Tis a ridiculous conception, and as gross as to make him of the same Substance with the Council. Nor needs there any strong argument of his absence, then their pretense to be actuated by him, and in doing such Work. The Holy Spirit! If so many of them when they got together, acted like rational Men, 'twas enough in all reason and as much as could be expected.

But this was one affectation, among many others, which the Bishops took up so early, of the stile, privileges, powers, and some actions and gestures peculiar and inherent to the Apostles, which they misplaced to their own behoof and usage: nay, and chalenged other things as Apostolical, that were directly contrary to the Doctrine and Practice of the Apostles. For so becaule the Holy Spirit did in an extraordinary manner preside among the Holy Apostles at that Legitime Council of *Jerusalem*, *Acts 15.* they, although under

an ordinary Administration, would not go less whatever came on't: nay; whereas the Apostles, in the drawing up of their Decree dictated to them by the Holy Spirit, said therefore no more but thus: *The Apostles, Elders, and Brethren, send greeting unto the Brethren of, &c. Forasmuch as, &c. It seemed good to the Holy Ghost and us to lay upon you no greater burthen then these necessary things: that ye abstain from, &c. from which if ye keep your selves, you shall do well. Fare ye well.*

This Council denounces every invention of its own; (far from the Apostolical modesty, and the stile of the Holy Spirit) under no less then an Anathema. Such was their arrogating to their inferior degrees the stile of *Clergy*, till custom hath so much prevailed, that we are at a loss how to speak properly either of the name or nature of their function. Whereas the *Clergy*, in the true and Apostolical sense, were only those whom they superciliously always call the *Laity*: The word *Clerus* being never but once used in the New Testament, and in that signification, and in a very unlucky place too, *Peter* 1. 5. 3. where he admonishes the Priesthood, *that they should not Lord it or domineer over, the Christian People, Clerum Domini or the Lord's Inheritance.* But having usurp'd the Title, I confess they did right to assume their Power. But to speak of the Priesthood in that stile which they most affect, if we consider the nature too of their Function, what were the *Clergy* then but Lay-men disguis'd, drest up perhaps in another habit? Did not *St. Paul* himself, being a Tent-maker, rather then be idle or burthensom to his People, work of his trade, even during his Apostleship, to get his living? But did not these, that they might neglect their holy vocation, seek to compass secular employments, and Lay Offices? Were not very many of them, whether one respect their Vices or Ignorance, as well qualified as any other to be Laymen? Was it not usual as oft as they merited it to restore them, as in the case even of the three Bishops, to the Lay-communion? And whether, if they were so peculiar from others, did the Imposition of the Bishops hands, or the lifting up the hands of the Laity confer more to that distinction? And *Constantine*, notwithstanding his complement at the burning of the Bishops papers, thought he might make them and unmake them with the same power as he did his other Lay-Officers. But if the inferior degrees were the *Clergy*, the Bishops would be the Church: although that word in the Scripture-sense is proper only to a congregation of the Faithful. And being by that title the only men in Ecclesiastical councils, then when they were once assembled they were the *Catholick Church*, and, having the Holy Spirit at their devotion, whatsoever Creed they light upon, that was the *Catholick Faith*, without believing of which no man be saved. By which means there rose thenceforward so constant persecutions till this day, that, had not the little invisible *Catholick Church* and a People that always search'd and believ'd the Scriptures, made a stand by their Testimonies and sufferings, the Creeds had destroy'd the Faith: and the Church had ruin'd the Religion. For this General council of *Nice* and all others of the same constitution, did, and can serve to no other end or effect, then particular order of men by their usur-

for a

ping

*this sheet in the Council
order is styled Second
Sedition and the
tion of the
Religio no*

ping a trust upon Christianity, to make their own Price and Market of it, and deliver it up as oft as they see their own Advantage.

For scarce was *Constantine's* Head cold, but his Son *Constantius*, succeeding his Brothers, being Influenced by the Bishops of the *Arrian* Party, turn'd the wrong side of Christianity outward, inverted the Poles of Heaven, and Faith (if I may say so) with its Heels in the Air, was forced to stand upon its Head, and play Gambols, for the Divertisement and Pleasure of the *Homoiousians*. *Arrianism* was the Divinity then in Mode, and he was an ignorant and ill Courtier, or Church man, that could not dress, and would not make a new Sute for his Conscience in the Fashion. And now the Orthodox Bishops (it being given to those Men to be obstinate for Power, but flexible in Faith,) began to wind about insensibly, as the *Heliotrope Flower* that keeps its ground, but wrests its Neck in turning after the warm Sun, from Day-break to Evening. They could look now upon the Synod of *Nice* with more indifference, and all that pudder that had been made there betwixt *Homoiousios* and *Homoiousios*, &c. began to appear to them as a Difference only arising from the Inadequation of Languages: Till by degrees they were drawn over, and, rather than lose their Bishopricks, would joyn, and at last be the Head-moist in the Persecution of their own former Party. But the Deacons, to be sure, that steer'd the Elephants, were thorow-paced; Men to be reckon'd and relied upon in this or any other occasion, and would prick on to render themselves Capable and Episcopable, upon the first Vacancy. For now the *Arrians* in grain, scorning to come behind the Clownish *Homoiousians*, in any Ecclesiastical Civility, were resolved to give them their full of Persecution. And it seem'd a piece of Wit rather than Malice, to pay them in their own Coyn, and to *Burlesque* them in earnest, by the repetition and heightning of the same Severities upon them, that they had practis'd upon others. Had you the *Homoiousians* a Creed at *Nice*? We will have another Creed for you at *Ariminum*, and at *Seleucia*. Would you not be content with so many several Projects of Faith consonant to Scripture, unless you might thrust the new word *Homoiousios* down our throats, and then tear it up again, to make us confess it? Tell us the word, ('twas *Homoiousios*) we are now upon the Guard, or else we shall run you thorow. Would you Anathemize, Banish, Imprison, Execute us, and burn our Books? You shall taste of this Christian Fare, and as you relish it, you shall have more on't provided. And thus it went, *Arrianism* being Triumphant, but the few sincere or stomachful Bishops, adhering constantly, and with a true Christian Magnanimity, especially *Athanasius*, thorow all Sufferings unto their former Confessions; expiated so in some measure, what they had committed in the *Nicene Council*.

Sozomene, l. 4. c. 25. First tells us a story of *Endoxius*, who succeeded *Macedonius*, in the Bishoprick of *Constantinople*; that in the Cathedral of *Sancta Sophia*, being mounted in his Episcopal Throne, the first time that they Assembled for its Dedication, in the very beginning of his Sermon to the People (those things were already come in Fashion) told them: *Patrem impium esse,*

Filium autem piū; at which when they began to bustle, *Pray be quiet,* saith he; I say, *Patrem impiū esse; quia Colis neminem; Filium vero Piū;* *quia colit Patrem;* at which they then Laughed as heartily, as before they were Angry. But this I only note to this purpose, that there were some of the greatest Bishops among the *Homoiousians*, as well as the *Homoousians*, that could not reproach one anothers Simplicity, and that it was not impossible for the Many, to be Wiser and more Orthodox than the Few, in Divine Matters. That which I cite him for as most Material, is, his Remark upon the Imposition then of contrary Creeds; Which verily, saith he, was plainly the beginning of most great Calamities, for as much as hereupon there followed a Disturbance, not unlike those which we before recited over the whole Empire; and likewise a Persecution equal almost to that of the Heathen Emperors, seized upon all of all Churches. For, although it seemed to some more gentle for what concerns the Torture of the Body, yet to prudent Persons it appeared more bitter and severe, by reason of the Dishonor and Ignominy. For both they who stirred up, and those that were afflicted with this Persecution, were of the Christian Church. And the Grievance therefore was the greater and more ugly, in that the same things which are done among Enemies, were Executed between those of the same Tribe and Profession: But the Holy Law forbids us to carry our selves in that manner, even to those that are Without, and Aliens. And all this mischief sprung from making of Creeds, with which the Bishops, as it were at Tilting, aim'd to hit one another in the Eye, and throw the opposite Party out of the Saddle. But if it chanced that the weaker side were ready to yield, (for what sort of Men was there that could better Manage, or had their Consciences more at command at that time than the Clergy?) Then the *Arrians* would use a yet longer, thicker, and sharper Lance for the purpose, (for there were never Vacancies sufficient) that they might be sure to run them down, over, and thorow, and do their Business. The Creed of *Ariminum* was now too short for the Design, but, saith the Historian, they affix'd further Articles like Labels to it, pretending to have made it better, and so sent it thorow the Empire with Constantius his Proclamation, that whoever would not Subscribe it, should be banished. Nay, they would not admit their own beloved *Similis Substantia*; but, to do the Work thoroughly, the *Arrians* renounc'd their own Creed for Malice, and made it an Article; *Filium Patris tam substantia, quam Voluntate, Dissimilem esse*. But that is a small matter with any of them, provided thereby they may do Service to the Church, that is their Party. So that one (seriously speaking) that were really Orthodox, could not then defend the Truth or himself, but by turning old *Arrian*, if he would impugn the new ones, such was the Subtily. What shall I say more? As the Arts of Glass Coaches and Perriwgs illustrate this Age, so by their Trade of Creed-making, then first Invented, we may esteem the Wisdom of Constantine's, and Constantius his Empire. And in a short space, as is usual among Tradesmen, where it appears Gainful, they were so many that set up of the same Profession, that they could scarce live by one another.

Socr. l. 2. c. 32. Therefore uses these words: *But now that I have tandem aliquando, run through this Labyrinth of so many Creeds, I will gather up their number: And so reckons Nine Creeds more, besides that of Nice, before the death of Constantine, (a blessed Number.) And I believe, I could for a need, make them up a Dozen, if Men have a mind to buy them so. And hence it was that Hilary, then Bishop of Poitiers, represents that state of the Church pleasantly, yet sadly, Since the Nicene Synod, saith he, we do nothing but write Creeds. That while we fight about words, whilst we raise Questions about Noveltries, while we Quarrel about things doubtful, and about Authors, while we contend in Parties, while there is difficulty in Consent, while we Anathematize one another, there is none now almost that is Christ's. What a Change there is in the last years Creed? The first Decree commands, that Homouousios should not be mentioned. The next does again Decree and Publish Homouousios. The third does by Indulgence excuse the Word Ousia, as used by the Fathers in their simplicity. The fourth does not Excuse, but Condemn it. It is come to that at last, that nothing among us, or those before us, can remain Sacred or inviolable. We Decree every Year of the Lord, a new Creed concerning God: Nay, every Change of the Moon our Faith is alter'd. We repent of our Decrees, we defend those that repent of them; we Anathemize those that we defended, and while we either condemn other Mens Opinions in our own, or our own Opinions in those of other Men, and bite at one another, we are now all of us torn in pieces. This Bishop sure was the Author of the Naked Truth, and 'twas he that implicitly condemn'd the whole Catholick Church, both East and West, for being too presumptuous in her Definitions.*

It is not strange to me, that Julian, being but a Reader in the Christian Church, should turn Pagan: Especially when I consider that he succeeded Emperor after Constantine. For it seems rather unavoidable that a Man of great Wit, as he was, and not having the Grace of God to direct it, and show him the Beauty of Religion, through the Deformity of his Governours and Teachers; but that he must conceive a Loathing and Aversion for it, Nor could he think that he did them any Injustice, when he observed that, beside all their Unchristian Immorality too, they Practised thus, against the Constitutive Law of their Galilean, the Persecution among themselves for Religion. And well might he add to his other Severities, that sharpness of his Wit, both Exposing and Animadverting upon them, at another rate than any of the Modern Practitioners with all their Study and Inclination, can ever arrive at. For nothing is more punishable, Contemptible, and truly Ridiculous, than a Christian that walks contrary to his Profession: And by how many Man stands with more advantage in the Church for Eminency, but disobeys the Laws of Christ by that Priviledge, he is thereby, and deserves to be the more Exposed. But Julian, the last Heathen Emperor, by whose Cruelty it seemed that God would sensibly Admonish once again the Christian Clergy, and show them by their own Smart, and an Heathen Hand, the nature and odiousness of Persecution, soon died, as is usual for Men of that Employment, not without a remarkable stroke of God's Judgment.

Yet they, as if they were only sorry that they had lost so much time, upon his death strove as eagerly to redeem it, and forthwith fell in very naturally into their former Animolities. For *Jovianus* being chosen Emperor in *Persia*, and returning Homeward, *Socr. l. 3. c. 20.* the Bishops of each Party, in hopes that theirs should be the Imperial Creed, strait to Horse, and Rode away with Switch and Spur, as if it had been for the Plate, to meet him; and he that had best Heels, made himself cock-sure of winning the Religion. The *Macedonians*, who dividing from the *Arrians*, had set up for a new Heresie concerning the Holy Ghost, (and they were a Squadron of Bishops) Petition'd him that those who held, *Filium Patri dissimilem*, might be turn'd out, and themselves put in their places: Which was very honestly done, and above-board. The *Acacians*, that were the refined *Arrians*, but, as the Author saith, *Had a notable faculty of addressing themselves to the Inclination of whatsoever Emperor*, and having good Intelligence that he balanced rather to the *Consubstantials*, presented him with a very fair Insinuating Subscription, of a considerable number of Bishops to the Council of *Nice*. But in the next Emperor's time they will be found to yield little Reverence to their own Subscription. For in matter of a Creed, a Note of their Hand, without expressing the Penalty, could not it seems Bind one of their Order. But all that *Jovianus* said to the *Macedonians*, was; *I hate Contention, but I lovingly embrace and reverence those who are inclined to Peace and Concord.* To the *Acacians*, who had wisely given these the precedence of Application, to try the truth of their Intelligence, he said no more (having resolv'd by sweetness and persuasions to quiet all their Controversies.) but, *That he would not molest any Man whatsoever Creed he follow'd, but those above others he would Cherish and Honor, who should show themselves most forward in bringing the Church to a good Agreement.* He likewise call'd back all those Bishops who had been Banished by *Constantine* and *Julian*, restoring them to their Sees. And he writ a Letter in particular to *Athanasius*, who upon *Julian's* death, had enter'd again upon that of *Alexandria*, to bid him be of good Courage. And these things coming to the Ears of all others, did wonderfully assuage the Fierceness of those who were Inflamed with Faction and Contention: So that, the Court having declared it self of this Mind, the Church was in a short time in all outward appearance peaceably disposed; the Emperor by this Means having wholly repressed all their Violence. Versly, concludes the Historian, the Roman Empire had been prosperous and happy, and both the State and the Church (he puts them too in that Order) under so good a Prince, must have exceedingly flourished, had not an Immature death taken him away from managing the Government. For after seven Months, being seized with a mortal Obstruction, he departed this Life. Did not this Historian, trow you, deserve to be handled, and is it not, now the Mischief is done, to undo the Charm, become a Duty, to Expose both him and *Jovianus*? By their ill chosen Principles what would have become of the Prime, and most necessary Articles of Faith? Might not the old Dormant Heresies, all of them safely have Revived?

But that *Mortal Obstruction* of the Bishops, was not by his death (nor is it by their own to be) removed. They were glad he was so soon got out of their way, and God would yet further manifest their intractable Spirit, which not the Persecution of the Heathen Emperor *Julian*, nor the Gentleness of *Jovianus* the Christian, could allay or mitigate by their Afflictions or Prosperity. The Divine *Nemesis* executed Justice upon them, by one anothers Hand: And so hainous a Crime as for a Christian, a Bishop, to Persecute, stood yet need, as the only equal and exemplary Punishment, of being Revenged with a Persecution by Christians, by Bishops. And whoever shall seriously consider all along the Succession of the Emperors, can never have taken that Satisfaction in the most judicious Representations of the Scene, which he may in this worthy Speculation of the great Order and admirable conduct of Wise Providence, through the whole contexture of these Exterior, seeming Accidents, relating to the Ecclesiasticals of Christianity.

For to *Jovianus* succeeded *Valentinian*, who in a short time took his Brother *Valens* to be his Companion in the Empire. These two Brothers, did as the Historian observes, *Socr. l. 4. c. 1.* (alike, and equally take care at the beginning, for the Advantage and Government of the State) but very much disagreed, though both Christians, in matter of Religion: *Valentinianus* the Elder being an *Orthodox*, but *Valens* an *Arrian*, and they used a different Method toward the Christians. For *Valentinian* (who chose the Western part of the Empire, and left the East to his Brother) as he imbraced those of his own Creed, so yet he did not in the least molest the *Arrians*: But *Valens* not only Labor'd to increase the number of the *Arrians*, but Afflicted those of the contrary Opinion with grievous Punishments. And both of 'm, especially *Valens* had Bishops for their purpose. The particulars of that heavy Persecution under *Valens*, any one may further satisfy himself of in the Writers of those Times: And yet it is observable, that within a little space while he pursued the *Orthodox* Bishops, he gave Liberty to the *Novatians*, (who were of the same Creed, but separated from them, as I have said, upon Discipline, &c.) and caused their Churches, which for a while were shut up, to be opened again at *Constantinople*. To be short, *Valens* (who out-lived his Brother, that died of a natural Death,) himself in a battel against the *Goths*, could not escape neither the fate of a Christian Persecutor. For the *Goths* having made Application to him, he, saith *Socrates*, not well fore-seeing the Consequence, admitted them to Inhabit in certain places of *Thracia*, pleasing himself that he should by that means, always have an Army ready at hand against whatsoever Enemy; and that those Foreign Guards would strike them with a greater Terror, more by far than the Militia of his Subjects. And so, slighting the ancient *Veterane* Militia, which used to consist of Bodies of Men raised proportionably in every Province, and were stout Fellows that would Fight Manfully, instead of them he levied Money, raring the Country at so much for every Souldier. But the new Inmates of the Emperors soon grew Troublefom, as is customary, and not only infected the Natives in *Thracia*, but Plunder'd even the Suburbs of *Constantinople*, there being no armed Force to repress them: Hereupon the whole

whole People of the City cried out at a publick Spectacle, where *Valens* was present neglecting this matter, *Give us Arms and we will manage this War ourselves*. This extremely provok'd him, so that he forthwith made an Expedition against the *Goths*: But Threatened the Citizens if he turn'd in safety, to be Reveng'd on them both for those Contumelies, and for what under the Tyrant *Procopius*, they had committed against the Empire, and that he would Raze to the Ground, and Plow up the City. Yet before his departure, out of fear of the Foreign Enemy, he totally ceas'd from persecuting the Orthodox in Constantinople. But he was kill'd in the Fight, or Flying into a Village that the *Goths* had set on fire, he was there burnt to ashes: to the great grief of his Bishops, who, had he been Victorious, might have revived the Persecution. Such was the end of his Impetuous Reign and rash Counsels both as to his Government of State, in matters of Peace and War, and his Manage of the Church by Persecution.

His death brings me to the Succession of *Theodosius the Great*, then whom no Christian Emperor did more make it his business to Nurse up the Church, and to Lull the Bishops, to keep the House in quiet. But neither was it in his power to still their Bawling, and Scratching one another, as far as their Nails (which were yet more tender, but afterwards grew like Fallons) would give them leave. I shall not further vex the History, or the Reader, in recounting the Particulars; taking no delight neither my self in so uncomfortable Relations, or to reflect beyond what is necessary upon the Wolfishness of those which then seem'd, and ought to have been, the Christian Pastors, but went on scattering their Flocks, if not devouring; and the Shepherds smiting one another. In his Reign, the second General Council was call'd, that of Constantinople, and the Creed was there made which took its name from the place. The rest of their business, any one that is further curious, may observe in the Writers. But I shall close this with a short touch concerning *Gregory Nazianzen*, then living, than whom also the Christian Church had not in those times (and I question whether in any succeeding!) a Bishop that was more a Christian, more a Gentleman, better appointed in all sorts of Learning requisite, seasoned under *Julian's* Persecution, and exemplary to the highest pitch of true Religion, and Practical Piety. The eminence of these Vertues, and in special of his Humility (the lowliest but the highest of all Christian Qualifications) rais'd him under *Theodosius*, from the Parish-like Bishoprick of *Nazianzum*, to that of *Constantinople*, where he fill'd his place in that Council. But having taken notice in what manner things were carried in that, as they had been in former Councils, and that some of the Bishops muttered at his promotion; he of his own mind resign'd that great Bishoprick, which was never of his desire or seeking, and, though so highly feared in the Emperors Reverence and Favor, so acceptable to the People, and generally to the Clergy; whose unequal Abilities could not pretend or justify an envy against him; retir'd back far more content to a Solitary Life to his little *Nazianzum*. And from thence he writes that Letter to his Friend *Procopius*, wherein, p. 814. upon his most recollected and serious reflexion on what had pass'd within his observation,

tion, he useth these remarkable words: *I have resolved with my self (if I may tell you the Naked Truth) not to come into any assembly of Bishops for I never saw a good one, but which rather increased then remedied the mischief. A proper, private Contentions and Ambition are unexpressible.*

It would require too great a Volume to deduce, from the death of *Theodosius*, the particulars that happened in the succeeding Reigns about this matter. But the Reader may reckon, that it was as stated a Quarrel betwixt the *Homoiousians*, and the *Homoionians*, as that between the Houses of York and Lancaster: And there arose now an Emperor of one Line, and then again of the other. But among all the Bishops, there was not one *Morton*, whose industrious Brain could or would (for some Men always reap by Division) make up the fatal Breach betwixt the two Creeds. By this means every Creed was grown up to a Test, and, under that pretence, the dextrous Bishops step by step hooked within their Verge, all the business and Power that could be caught in those Turbulences, where they muddled the Water and Fished after. By this means they stalked on first to a Spiritual kind of Dominion, and from that inroached upon and into the Civil Jurisdiction. A Bishop now grew terrible, and, (whereas a simple Layman might have frighted the Devil with the first words of the Apostles Creed, and *I despise thee Satan*) one Creed could not protect him from a Bishop, and it required a much longer, and a double and treble Confession, unless himself would be delivered over to *Satan* by an *Anathema*. But this was only an Ecclesiastical sentence at first, with which they marked out such as sinned against them, and then whoop'd and hollow'd on the Civil Magistrate, to hunt them down for their Spiritual Pleasure. They crept at first by Court Insinuations and Flattery into the Princes favor, till those generous Creatures suffered themselves to be backed and ridden by them, who would take as much of a free Horse as possible: but in Persecution the Clergy as yet, wisely interposed the Magistrate betwixt themselves and the People, not caring so their end were attained, how odious they rendred him; And you may observe that for the most part hitherto, they stood crouching and shot either over the Emperors back, or under his belly. But in process of Time they became bolder and open-fac'd, and Persecuted before the Sun at Mid-day. Bishops grew worse, but Bishopricks every day better and better. There was now no *Eusebius* left to refuse the Bishoprick of *Antiochia*, whom therefore *Constantine* told, That he deserv'd the Bishoprick of the whole World for that Modesty. They were not such Fools as *Ammonius* Parotes, I warrant you, in the time of *Theodosius*. He, *Socr. l. 6. c. 30.* being seised upon by some that would needs make him a Bishop, when he could not persuade them to the contrary, cut off one of his Ears, telling them that now, should he himself desire to be a Bishop, he was by the Law of Priesthood incapable: but when they observed that those things only obliged the Jewish Priesthood, and that the Church of Christ did not consider whether a Priest were sound or perfect in limb or Body, but only that he were intire in his manners, they return'd to seize on him again: But when he saw them coming, he swore with a solemn Oath, that, if to Consecrate

trate him a Bishop they laid violent hands upon him, he would cut out his tongue
 also; whereupon they, fearing he would do it, desisted. What should have
 been the matter, that a man so Learned and Holy, should have such an aver-
 sion to be promoted in his own Order; that, rather than yield to be a Compel-
 led or Compelling Bishop, he would inflict upon himself as severe a Martyr-
 dom, as any Persecutor could have done for him? Sure he saw something more in
 the very Constitution, than some do at present. But this indeed was an Exam-
 ple too Rigid, and neither fit to have been done, nor to be imitated, as there
 was no danger. For far from this they followed the precedent rather of *Dama-
 sus*, and *Ursinus*, which last, *Socr. l. 4. c. 24.* In *Valentinian's* time, persuad-
 ed certain obscure and abject Bishops (for there were it seems of all sorts and
 sizes) to create him Bishop in a Corner, and then (so early) he and *Damasus*,
 who was much the better Man: waged War for the Bishoprick of *Rome*, to
 the great scandal of the *Pagan* Writers, who made Remarks for this and o-
 ther things upon their Christianity, and to the Bloodshed and Death of a mul-
 titude of the Christian People. But this last I mention'd, only as a weak and
 imperfect Essay in that time, of what it came to in the several Ages after,
 which I am now speaking of, when the Bishops were given, gave themselves,
 over to all manner of Vice, Luxury, Pride, Ignorance, Superstition, Cove-
 tousness, and Monopolizing of all secular Employments and Authority. No-
 thing could escape them: They meddled, troubled themselves and others, with
 many things, every thing, forgetting that one, only needful. Inasmuch that I
 could not avoid wondering often that, among so many Churches that with
 Paganick Rites, they dedicated to Saint *Mary*, I have met with none to Saint
Martha. But above all, Imposition and Cruelty became inherent to them, and
 the power of Persecution was grown so good and desirable a thing, that they
 thought the Magistrate scarce worthy to be trusted with it longer, and a meer
 Novice at it, and either wrested it out of his hands, or gently eased him of
 that and his other burdens of Government. The Sufferings of the Laity were
 become the Royalties of the Clergy; and, being very careful Christians,
 the Bishops, that not a word of our Saviours might fall to the Ground, be-
 cause he had foretold how Men should be Persecuted for his Names sake, they
 undertook to see it done effectually in their own Provinces, and out of pure
 zeal of doing him the more Service of this kind, enlarged studiously their
 Diocesses beyond all proportion. Like *Nostradamus* his Son, that to fulfil his
 Father's prediction of a City in *France*, that should be Burned; with his own
 hands set it on fire. All the calamities of the Christian World in those Ages,
 may be derived from them, while they warm'd themselves at the Flame; and,
 like Lords of Misrule, kept a perpetual *Christmas*. What in the Bishop's
 name is the matter? How came it about that Christianity, which approved it
 self under all Persecutions to the Heathen Emperors, and merited their Favor
 so far, till at last it regularly succeeded to the Monarchy, should under those
 of their own Profession be more distressed? Were there some Christians then
 too, that feared still lest Men should be Christians, and for whom it was
 necessary

Persecute only

necessary, not for the Gospel reason that there should be *Heresses*. Let us collect a little now also in the conclusion what at first was not particulariz'd, how the reason of State and Measure of Government stood under the Roman Emperours, in aspect to them. I omit *Tiberius*, mention'd in the beginning of this Essay. *Trajan*, after having persecuted them, and having used *Pliny* the second in his Province to that purpose, upon his relation that they lived in conformity to all Lawes, but that which forbad their Worship, and in all other things were blameless, and good men, straitly by his Edict commanded that none of them should be farther enquired after. *Hadrian*, in his Edict to *Minutius Fundanus*, Pro-consul of *Asia*, commands him that, If any accuse the Christians, and can prove it, that they commit anything against the State, that then he punish them according to the crime: but if any man accuse them, meerly for calumny and vexation, as Christians, then i' faith let him suffer for't, and take you care that he feel the smart of it. *Antoninus Pius* writ his Edict. very remarkable if there were place here to recite it, to the States of *Asia* assembled at *Ephesus*; wherein he takes notice of his fathers command that, unless the Christians were found to act any thing against the Roman Empire, they should not be molested, and then commands that, if any man thereafter shall continue to trouble them, tanquam tales, as Christians, for their Worship, in that case he that is the Informer should be exposed to punishment, but the accused should be free and discharged. I could not but observe that among other things in this Edict, where he is speaking, It is desirable to them that they may appear, being accused, more willing to dy for their God then to live, he adds. It would not be amiss to admonish you concerning the Earthquakes which have, and do now happen, that when you are afflicted at them, you would compare our affairs with theirs. They are thereby so much the more incouraged to a confidence and reliance upon God, but you all the while go on in your ignorance, and neglect both other gods, and the Religion towards the immortal, and banish and persecute them unto death. Which words of that Emperours, fall in so naturally with what, it seems, was a common observation about Earthquakes, that I cannot but to that purpose take further notice, how also *Gregory Nazianzen*, in Or. 2^d. contra Gentiles, tells, besides the breakings in of the Sea in several places, and many fires that happened, of the Earthquakes in particular, which he reckons as Symptomes of *Julian's* Persecution. And to this I may add. *Seer. l. 3. c. 10.* who in the Reign of *Valens*, that notorious Christian Persecutor, saith, at the same time there was an Earthquake in *Bitbynia*, which ruined the City of *Nice*, (that same in which that general Counsel was held under *Constantine*) and a little after there was another. But although these so happened, the minds of *Valens* and of *Eudoxius*, the Bishop of the *Arrians* were not at all stirred up unto Piety, and a right opinion of Religion: For nevertheless they never ceased, made no end of persecuting those who in their Creed dissented from them. Those Earthquakes seemed to be certain indications of tumult in the Church. All which put together, could not but make me reflect upon the late Earth-

quakes, great by how much more unusual, here in *England*, thorow so many Counties since *Christmas*, at the same time when the Clergy; some of them, were so busy in their Cabals, to promote this (I would give it a modest name then) Persecution, which is now on foot against the Dissenters; at so unseasonable a time, and upon no occasion administered by them, that those who comprehend the reasons, yet cannot but wonder at the wisdom of it. Yet I am not neither one of the most credulous niggers or applyers of natural events to human transactions; but neither am I so secure as the Learned Dr. *Spencer*, nor can walk along the world without having some eye to the conjunctures of God's admirable Providence. Neither was *Marcus Aurelius* (that I may return to my matter) negligent as to this particular. But he, observing, as *Antoninus* had the Earthquakes, that in an expedition against the *Germans*, and *Sarmatians*; his Army being in despair almost for want of water, the *Melentine* (afterwards from the event called the *Thundring*) Legion, which consisted of Christians, kneel'd down in the very heat of their thirst and fight, praying for rain, which posture the enemies wondring at, immediately there brake out such a thundring and lightning as together with the Christian valour, routed the adverse Army, but so much rain fell therewith, as refreshed *Aurelius* his Forces that were at the last gasp for thirst, he thenceforward commanded by his Letters; that upon pain of death none should inform against the Christians, as *Tertulian* in his Apology for the Christians witnesses. But who would have believed that even *Commodus*, so great a Tyrant otherwise, should have been so favourable as to make a Law, that the informers against Christians should be punished with Death? Yet he did, and the Informer against *Apollonius* was by it executed. Much less could a man have thought that, that prodigy of cruelty *Maximine*, and who exercised it so severely upon the Christians, should, as he did, being struck with God's hand, publish when it was too late Edict after Edict, in great favour of the Christians. But above all, nothing could have been less expected then that, after those Heathen Emperours, the first Christian *Constantine* should have been seduced by the Bishops, to be, after them, the first occasion of Persecution, so contrary to his own excellent inclination: 'Twas then that he spake his own mind, when he said, *Eus. de vitâ Consti.* 69. You ought to retain within the bounds of your private thoughts those things, which you cunningly and subtly seek out concerning most frivolous questions. And then much plainer, c. 67. where he saith so wisely. You are not ignorant that the Philosophers all of them do agree in the profession of the same Discipline, but do oftentimes differ in some part of the opinions which they dogmatize in; but yet, although they do dissent about the Discipline that each several Sect observeth, they nevertheless reconcile themselves again for the sake of that common Profession to which they have concurred. But against compulsion in Religious matters so much every where, that it is needless to insert one passage. And he being of this disposition, and universally Famous for his care and countenance of the Christian Religion, *Ensebins* saith these

these words: *While the people of God did glory and heighten it self in the doing of good things, and all fear from without was taken away, and the Church was fortified as I may say, on all sides by a peaceable and illustrious tranquility, then Envy lying in wait against our prosperity, craftily crept in, and began first to dance in the midst of the company of Bishops: so goes on, telling the History of Alexander and Arrius. I have been before large enough in that relation, wherein it appeared that, contrary to that great Emperours pious intention, whereas Envy began to dance among the Bishops first, the good Constantine brought them the Fiddles. But it appear'd likewise how soon he was weary of the Bal, and toward his latter end, as Princes often do upon too late experience, would have redressed all and returned to his natural temper. Of the other Christian Emperours I likewise discoursed, omitting, that I might insert it in this place, how the great Heathen Philosopher *Themistius*, in his Consular Oration, celebrated *Jovianus* for having given that toleration in Christian Religion, and thereby defeated the flattering Bishops, which sort of men, saith he wittily, do not worship God, but the Imperial Purple.*

It was the same *Themistius* that, only out of an upright natural apprehension of things, made that excellent Oration afterward to *Valens*, which is in Print, exhorting him to cease Persecution: wherein he chances upon, and improves the same notion with *Constantine's*, and tells him: *That he should not wonder at the Dissents in Christian Religion, which were very small, if compared with the multitude and crowd of Opinions among the Gentile Philosophers; for there were at least three hundred differences, and a very great dissention among them there was about their resolutions, unto which each several Sect was as it were necessarily bound up and obliged: and that God seemed to intend more to illustrate his own glory by that diverse and unequal variety of Opinions, to the end every each one might therefore so much the more reverence his Divine Majesty, because it is not possible for any one accurately to know him.* And this had a good effect upon *Valens*, for the mitigating in some measure his severities against his fellow Christians. So that after having cast about, in this Summary again, (whereby it plainly appears that according to natural right and the apprehension of all sober Heathen Governours, Christianity as a Religion, was wholly exempt from the Magistrates jurisdiction or Lawes, farther than any particular person among them immorally transgressed, as others, the common rules of humain society) I cannot but return to the Question with which I begun. What was the matter? How came it about that Christianity, which approved it self under all Persecutions to the Heathen Emperours, and merited their favour so far, till at last it regularly succeeded to the Monarchy, should, under those of their own profession, be more distressed? But the Answer is now much shorter and certainer, and I will adventure boldly to say, the true and single cause then was the Bishops. And they were the cause against reason. For what power had the Emperours by growing Christians, more then those had before them? None. What obligation were Christian

Subjects under to the Magistrate more then before? None. But the Magistrates Christian authority was, what the Apostle describ'd it while Heathen, *not to be a terror to good works, but to evil.* What new Power had the Bishops, acquired, whereby they turned every Pontificate into a Caiaphat? None neither? 2 Cor. 10. 8. Had they been Apostles, *The Lord had but given them Authority for edification, not for destruction.* They, of all other, ought to have Preached to the Magistrate, the terrible denunciations in Scripture against usurping upon and persecuting of Christians. They, of all others, ought to have laid before them the horrible Examples of God's ordinary Justice against those that exercised Persecution. But, provided they could be the Swearers of the Prince to do all due Allegiance to the Church, and to preserve the Rights and liberties of the Church, how ever they came by them, they would give him as much scope as he pleased in matter of Christianity, and would be the first to sollicite him to break the Laws of *Christ*, and ply him with hot places of Scripture in order to all manner of Oppression and Persecution in Civils and Spirituals. So that the whole business how this unchristian Tyranny came and could entitle it self among Christians, against the Christian privileges, was only the case in *Zech. 13. 6. 7. And one shall say unto him, what are these wounds in thy hands? then he shall answer, those with which I was wounded in the house of my friends.* Because they were all Christians, they thought forsooth they might make the bolder with them, make bolder with *Christ*, and wound him again in the hands and feet, of his members. Because they were friends they might use them more couisly, and abuse them, against all common civility, in their own house, which is a Protection to Strangers. And all this to the end that a Bishop might sit with the Prince in a *Junto*, to consult wisely how to preserve him from those people that never meant him any harm, and to secure him from the Sedition and Rebellion of men that seek, nor think, any thing more but to follow their own Religious, Christian Worship. It was indeed as ridiculous a thing to the Pagans to see that work, as it was afterwards in *England* to strangers, where Papists and Protestants went both to wrack at the same instant, in the same market, and when *Erasmus* said wittily, *Quid agitur in Angliâ? Consulitur* he might have added though not so elegantly, *Comburitur* de Religione. Because they knew that Christian Worship was free by *Christ's* institution, they procured the Magistrate to make Laws in it concerning things unnecessary; As the Heathen Persecutor *Julian* introduced some bordering Pagan Ceremonyes, and arguing with themselves in the same manner as he did, *Soz. l. 5. c. 16. That if Christians should obey those Lawes they should be able to bring them about to something further which they had designed. But if they would not, then they might proceed against them without any hope of pardon, as breakers of the Laws of the Empire, and represent them as turbulent and dangerous to the Government.* Indeed, whatsoever the Animadverter saith of the Act of Seditious Conventicles here in *England*, as if it were *Anwill'd* after another of the *Romane* Senate, the Christians of those Ages, had

had all the finest tools of Persecution out of *Julian's* Shop, and studied him then as curiously as some do now *Machiavel*. These Bishops it was who, because the Rule of *Christ* was incompatible with the Power that they assumed, and the Vices they practised, had no way to render themselves necessary or tolerable to Princes, but by making true piety difficult, by Innovating Laws to revenge themselves upon it, and by turning Makebates between Prince and People, instilling dangers of which themselves were the Authors. Hence it is that having awakened this jealousy once in the Magistrate against Religion, they made both the Secular and the Ecclesiastical Government so uneasy to him, that most Princes began to look upon their Subjects as their Enemies, and to imagine a reason of State different from the Interest of their People: and therefore to weaken themselves by seeking unnecessary & grievous supports to their authority. Whereas if men could have refrain'd this cunning, and from thence forcible, governing of Christianity, leaving it to its own simplicity, and due Liberty, but causing them in all other things to keep the Kings and *Christ's* peace among themselves and towards others, all the ill that could have come of it would have been that such kind of Bishops should have prov'd less implemental, but the good that must have thence risen to the Christian Magistrate and the Church, then and ever after, would have been inexpressible.

But this discourse having run in a manner wholly upon the Imposition of Creeds, may seem not to concern (and I desire that it may not reflect upon) our Clergy, nor the Controversies which have so unhappily vex'd our Church; ever since the reign of *Edward the Sixth* unto this day. Only, if there might something be pick'd out of it towards the Compromising of those differences (which I have not from any performance of mine the vanity to imagine) it may have use as an Argument *a Majori ad Minus*, their disputes having risen only from that of Creeds, ours from the Imposition only of Ceremonies, which are of much inferior consideration. Faith being necessary, but Ceremonies Despensable: Unless our Church should lay the same weight upon them as the Animadverter has done thorow his whole Studios Chapter on that Subject, and because p. 34. *this is the time of her settlement, that there is a Church at the end of every Mile, that the Sovereign Powers spread their wings to cover and protect her, that Kings and Queens are her Nursing Fathers and Nursing Mothers, that she hath stately Cathedrals*, there be so many arguments now to make Ceremonies Necessary: which may all be answered with one Question that they use to ask Children. *Where are you proud?* But I should rather hope from the wisdom and Christianity of the present guides of our Church, that they will (after an age and more, after so long a time almost as those Primitive Bishops I have spoke of, yet suffered the *Novatian* Bishops in every Diocess) have mercy on the Nation, that hath been upon so slender a matter as the Ceremonies and Liturgy so long, so miserably harassed. That they will have mercy upon the King, whom they know against his natural inclination; His Royal Intention, his many Declarations, they have induced to more Severities, then all the Reigns since the Conquest will contain

contain if summ'd up together : who may, as *Constantine* among his Private Devotions put up one Collect to the Bishops. *Enseb. de vitâ Const. c. 70. Date igitur mihi Dies tranquillos & Noctes curarum expertes.* And it runs thus almost altogether verbatim in that Historian. Grant, most merciful Bishop and Priest that I may have calm days, and nights free from care and molestation, that I may live a peaceable life in all Godlyness and honesty for the future by your good agreement; which unless you vouchsafe me, I shall waste away my Reign in perpetual sadness and vexation. For as long as the people of God stands divided by so unjust and pernicious a Contention, how can it be that I can have any ease in my own Spirit. Open therefore by your good agreement the way to me, that I may continue my Expedition towards the East; and grant that I may see both you and all the rest of my people, having laid aside your animosities, rejoicing together, that we may all with one voice give laud and glory, for the Common good agreement and liberty, to God Almighty for ever. Amen. But if neither the People, nor his Majesty enter into their consideration. I hope it is no unreasonable request that they will be merciful unto themselves, and have some reverence at least for the Naked Truth of History, which either in their owntimes will meet with them, or in the next age overtake them: That they, who are some of them so old that, as Confessors, they were the Scars of the former troubles, others of them so young, that they are free from all the Motives of Revenge and Hatred, should yet joyn in reviving the former persecutions upon the pretences, yea even themselves in a turbulent, military, and uncanonical manner execute Laws of their own procuring, and depute their inferior Clergy to be the Informers. I should rather hope to see not only that Controversy so scandalous abolished, but that also upon so good an occasion as the Author of the Naked Truth hath administered them, they will inspect their Clergy, and cause many things to be corrected, which are far more ruinous in the Consequence then the dispensing with a Surplice. I shall mention some too confusedly, as they occur to my Pen, at present, reserving much more for better leisure. Methinks it might be of great edification, that those of them who have ample possessions should be in a good sense. *Multas inter opes inopes.* That they would inspect the Canons of the ancient Councils, where are many excellent ones for the regulation of the Clergy. I saw one, looking but among those of the same Council of *Nice*, against any Bishops removing from a less Bishoprick to a greater, nor that any of the Inferior Clergy should leave a less living for a fatter. That is methinks the most Natural use of General or any Councils to make Canons, as it were By-Laws for the ordering of their own Society, but they ought not to take out, much less forge any Patent to invade and prejudice the Community. It were good that the greater Churchmen relyed more upon themselves, and their own direction, not building too much upon stripling Chaplains: that men may not suppose the Master (as one that has a good Horse or a Fleet-bound) attributes to himself the virtues of his Creature. That they inspect the Morals of the Clergy: the Moral Hereticks, do the Church more harm then

then all the Non-conformists can do, or can wish it. That before they admit men to subscribe the Thirty nine Articles for a Benefice, they try whether they know the meaning. That they would much recommend to them the reading of the Bible. 'Tis a very good book, and if a man read it carefully, will make him much wiser. That they would advise them to keep the Sabbath: if there were no morality in the day, yet there is a great deal of prudence in the observing it. That they would instruct those that came for Holy Orders and Livings, that it is a terrible vocation they enter upon, but that has indeed the greatest reward. That to gain a Soul is beyond all the acquits of Traffick, and to convert an Atheist more glorious then all the Conquests of the Souldier. That, betaking themselves to this Spiritual Warfare, they ought to disentangle from the World. That they do not ride for a Benefice as if it were for a Fortune or a Mistress, but there is more in it. That they take the Ministry up not as a Trade, and, because they have heard of *Whittington*, in expectation that the Bells may chime that they come in their turns to be Lord Mayors of *Lambeth*. That they make them understand, as well as they can, what is the Grace of God. That they do not come into the Pulpit too full of Fustian or Logick, a good life is a Clergy man's best Syllogism, and the quaintest Oratory: and till they out-live 'em they will never get the better of the Fanaticks, nor be able to preach with Demonstration of Spirit or with any effect or Authority. That they be Lowly minded, and no Railers.

And particularly, that the Archdeacon of *Canterbury* being in ill humor upon account of his *Ecclesiastical Policy*, may not continue to revenge himself upon the innocent *Walloons* there, by ruining their Church which subsists upon the Ecclesiastical Power of His Majesty and so many of His Royal Predecessors.

But these things require greater Time, and to enumerate all that is amiss, might perhaps be as endless as to number the People: nor are they within the ordinary sphere of my Capacity, and our Exposer will think I have forgot him, I shall take my leave of him for the present, being only troubled to find out a Complement for so civil a Person. It must be thus.

I will not say as *Popilius* said to *Antiochus*, nor as *Demosthenes* said to *Eschines*, nor as the most Learned *P. Arodius*, or the Jesuite *Gaspar Schottus* said to the Animadverter, nor as *Dolubella* said to *Cicero*, nor as the Christian *Cicero* said to the *English* Parliament, nor as the *Roman* Centurion said to the *Roman* Ensign: but I will say something like what *Leonas* (that presided from *Constantinus* at the Council at *Seleucia*, when they made an endless disputing to no purpose) said to them: nor, *Abie igitur & in Ecclesia nugas agite*, but, good Mr. Exposer, what do you Loytering like an idle Schollar, and Animadverting here in Town? get you home again, or it were better for you, and Expose and Animadvert, as long as you will, at your own Colledg.

But as to a new Book fresh come out, Intituled, *the Author of the Naked Truth*

Truth stripp'd Naked (to the Fell, or to the skin) that Hieroglyphical Quibble of the *Great Gunn*, on the Title Page, will not excuse Bishop *Gunning*, For his Sermon is still expected.

But to the Judicious and Serious Reader, to whom I wish any thing I have said, may have given no unwelcome entertainment, I shall only so far justify my self, that I thought it no less concerned me to vindicate the Laity from the Impositions that the *Few* would force upon them, then him to defend those Impositions on behalf of the Clergy. And moreover I judged my self most proper for the work, it not being fit that so slight a Pamphlet as his should be answered by any Man of great abilities. For the rest I take the *Naked Truth* to have been part of that effect which Reverend Mr. *Hooker* foretold. *Pref. to Eul. Policy*, p. 10. *The time will come when Three words, uttered with Charity and Meekness, shall receive a far more blessed reward, then Three thousand Volumes written with disdainful Sharpness of Wit.* And I shall conclude with him in his close. *I trust in the Almighty that with us Contentions are now at the highest float, and that the day will come (for what cause is there of Dispair) when the Passions of former enmity being allaid, men shall with ten times redoubled tokens of unsainedly reconciled Love, shew themselves each to other the same which Joseph and the Brethren of Joseph were at the time of their Enterview in Egypt.* And upon this condition, let my Book also (yea my self if it were needful) be burnt by the hand of the, Animadverter.

F I N I S.

have
suffi-
in the
the Im-
pro-
an-
th to
es. to
Cha-
thou-
clude
now
e of
th ren-
ach to
me of
(yea



